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# East Europe Report

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2 JUNE 1986

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### CONTENTS

#### POLITICS

##### BULGARIA

Article by Soviet General Views U.S. Use of Turkey for SDI (F. Andreyev; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 14 Apr 86).....	1
Goran Gotev Views Government's Balkan Policy (Goran Gotev; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 2 Apr 86).....	3
NOVA SVETLINA Editor on 'Revival Process' (Kamen Kalinov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 8 Apr 86).....	5
Zhivkov, Tanson Message to Hungarian Leaders (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 4 Apr 86).....	7
Defense Minister Dzhurov Awards Unnamed Enterprise (Stefan Stefanov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 12 Apr 86).....	9
Zhivkov Greets Syria's Al-Asad on National Day (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 17 Apr 86).....	10
BCP CC Greets Cuba on Plaja Giron Anniversary (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 19 Apr 86).....	11
Stanko Todorov on Socialist Democracy (Stanko Todorov; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 14 Mar 86).....	13
Yotov on Marxist-Leninist Party Line (Yordan Yotov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 31 Mar 86).....	16

New Edition of Zhivkov's Works on Role of Science (Todor Zhivkov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 14 Apr 86).....	19
Kubadinski on Fatherland Front Role, April Line (Pencho Kubadinski; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 2 Apr 86).....	20
Briefs	
Stanishev Receives Israeli CP Leader	22
Atanasov Receives Polish Ambassador	22
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Interior Minister Notes Crime Rise in 1985 (RUDE PRAVO, 17 Apr 86).....	23
Communists, Social Democrats Seen Sharing Views (Rastislav Toth; PRAVDA, 26 Mar 86).....	24
Christian Peace Conference Issues Declaration (PRAVDA, 4 Apr 86).....	28
Youth Union Members Due for Screening (Kamil Kollarik; SMENA, 9 Apr 86).....	29
Pacem in Terris Supports Election Program (RUDE PRAVO, 12 Apr 86).....	30
CPCZ Central Committee Message to 17th PCI Congress (Miroslav C. Florence; RUDE PRAVO, 12 Apr 86).....	31
Syrian Socialist Renaissance Party Greet 17th CPCZ Congress (RUDE PRAVO, 12 Apr 86).....	33
Briefs	
New IUS Chief	36
Husak Greets Winston	36
Strougal Receives Bulgaria's Lukanov	36
POLAND	
Politburo Hails Gorbachev Speech, LCY Visit (TRYBUNA LUDU, 3 Apr 86).....	37
Jaruzelski, Messner Send Greetings to Hungarian Leaders (Wojciech Jaruzelski, Zbigniew Messner; TRYBUNA LUDU, 4 Apr 86).....	39
Reportage on Foreign Minister Orzechowski's Visit to FRG (TRYBUNA LUDU, 8, 10 Apr 86).....	41
Connects Ties to East-West Relations, by Marian Orzechowski	41
Commentary Assesses Visit, by Daniel Lulinski	44

Writers Congress' Sensitive Issues Viewed (Jan Marszalek; RZECZYWISTOSC, 9 Mar 86).....	47
Armed Forces Political Aktiv Discusses Tasks (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 18 Mar 86).....	51
Using Draft PZPR Program To Shape Social Awareness (Anna Pawlowska; KULTURA, 19 Mar 86).....	53
Paper Reports on Government Presidium Meeting (TRYBUNA LUDU, 25 Mar 86).....	56
Rakowski Interview of SEJM, Public Attitudes (Mieczyslaw Rakowski Interview; ZYCIE WARSAWY, 26 Mar 86).....	58
PRC Physicist Interviewed on Nuclear Weapons (Zhou Peiyuan Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 27 Mar 86)....	62
Urban Prefaces Excerpts From Lampoon (Jerzy Urban; POLITYKA, 29 Mar 86).....	64
'Abuse' of Easter Rites for Political Purposes Criticized (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 4-6 Apr 86).....	66
Jaruzelski Speaks at University PZPR Meeting (TRYBUNA LUDU, 5-6 Apr 86).....	68
TU Confederation on Price Hike Hardships (ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 7 Apr 86).....	69
Daily Reports on Problems at Warsaw University (Alicja Matynia-Bonik; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 8 Apr 86).....	71
Jaruzelski, Others Address 'Moral Health' Meeting (Cezary Rudzinski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 8 Apr 86).....	73
Briefs	
Aktivs Criticize PZPR Program	79
Foreign Ministry Consultations	79
Alcohol Consumption Increases	79

## ROMANIA

Reportage on Visit by Lebanese Parliamentarians (AGERPRES, various dates).....	80
Ceausescu Receives Delegation	80
Parliamentarians Meet Press, Radio	81
Group Concludes Visit	81
Message to Israel Labor Party Congress	82

USSR Envoy Marks Cultural Ties With Romania (AGERPRES, 7 Apr 86).....	84
Ivascu Addresses IPU on Disarmament Initiatives (AGERPRES, 9 Apr 86).....	85
RCP's Stoian Meets Israel's Herzog, Shamir (AGERPRES, 10 Apr 86).....	86
Agriculture Minister David Meets With USSR's Kuznetzov (AGERPRES, 19 Apr 86).....	87
AGERPRES Reviews Cooperation With Sri Lanka (AGERPRES, 25 Apr 86).....	88
SCINTEIA Marks Afghanistan National Day (SCINTEIA, 27 Apr 86).....	89
Nicu Ceausescu Attends Youth Meeting in Moscow (AGERPRES, 28 Apr 86).....	90
Organization, Functioning of Youth Organization (AGERPRES, 1 May 86).....	91
Visiting IOC Chairman Meets Journalists (AGERPRES, 2 May 86).....	93
Nicu Ceausescu Meets Spanish CP Youth Leader (AGERPRES, 4 Apr 86).....	94
Ceausescu Receives Spanish Communist Official (AGERPRES, 5 May 86).....	95
Wan Li, Dinca at Romanian Industrial Exhibition in Beijing (AGERPRES, 6 May 86).....	96
Scientific Session Marks 65th RCP Anniversary (AGERPRES, 6 May 86).....	97
Importance of Literature in Combating Religion (Gh. Bratescu; ROMANIA LIBERA, 11 Mar 86).....	98
Briefs	
Gadea Addresses Opening	101
Ceausescu Receives Alfaro	101
Treaty With Zambia Ratified	101
Chinese Art Exhibition	101
South African Delegation	101

#### SOCIOLOGY

#### HUNGARY

Briefs	
Drinking Law Urged	103

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ARTICLE BY SOVIET GENERAL VIEWS U.S. USE OF TURKEY FOR SDI

AU11638 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Apr 86 p 5

[Soviet Major General F. Andreyev article, "specially for RABOTNICHESKO DELO through Novosti": "The Teller Sensation--Will the Territory of Turkey Be Utilized to Implement the American Military Space Programs?"]

[Text] The militarization of space was one of the central issues at the conference of representatives of NATO countries that was held recently in Munich. In the discussion at this conference the tone was dictated by the American delegation, which included Fred Ilke, U.S. deputy secretary for defense, and Edward Teller, the well-known "star wars" supporter and scientific "hawk."

In his speech F. Ilke insisted on an acceleration of the fulfillment of the "star wars" program and on the more active participation in it of Western European firms and concerns, motivating this by the mythical "Soviet threat." According to him, the creation of a broad-scale antimissile defense system with component elements based in space would ensure "greater security on the plant." He did not conceal the fact that, simultaneously with creating a "space antimissile shield," the United States intends to continue to increase its strategic offensive weapons in the future.

At the conference, a sensation was almost caused by Teller's statement concerning Washington's plans to use the territory of Turkey for the requirements of the U.S. "star wars" program. More concretely, he spoke about plans for a system to destroy Soviet missiles with a laser beam from ground stations. The beam will be reflected by a special mirror positioned in space. According to Teller, for this purpose these stations must be located in a region close to the Soviet missile sites with good climatic conditions. "If we succeed in locating four laser stations on Turkish territory, where there are so many bright days and the atmosphere is clear, then this country will become the most suitable for waging 'star wars,'" stated Teller.

It is legitimate to ask the question: Had this statement been agreed in advance with the Government of Turkey? Surely it graphically expresses the imperialist ambitions of the present Washington administration and is a blatant manifestation of its neoglobalist policy of crude interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The least one can say is that such plans are at variance with Turkey's national interests. E. Teller's statement directly confirms the U.S. military's aspiration to utilize Turkish territory as a launching platform for waging "star wars." Evidently, after extorting the consent of certain of their West European allies, the governing circles of the United States are now striving at any price to increase the number of such allies in other regions as well. It is a fact that this intensifies the danger of making irreversible the process of creating and multiplying space strike weapons, and raises a new barrier on the road to resolving the problem of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. But this seems to be Washington's least worry.

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2 June 1986

## POLITICS

## BULGARIA

## GORAN GOTEV VIEWS GOVERNMENT'S BALKAN POLICY

AU081253 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 86 p 5

[Goran Gotev Article: "An Evil or A Good Omen"]

[Excerpts] This was the night when Halley's comet appeared on the sky. People watched the "tailed star" and said that it is an omen of fate, of wars and death. The omen of the skies was hardly erased from their anxious memory, when people heard the village drummers reading the proclamations about the common march of several neighboring peoples against the centuries-old enslaver. The same inspirers who for many centuries guided the minds and hands of the Turkish sultans later provoked the fratricidal war among the same peoples. The fields and mountains of the Balkans were covered by thousands of corpses, by thousands of people who were killed by disease, starvation, and war injuries.

The Balkan peoples shared their historical misfortunes, because the causes of these misfortunes were the same--the same imperialist forces used to sow hostility and hatred, as well as feelings of revenge against each other. These feelings of hatred, however, were not directed against those who were truly responsible for the misfortunes of the Balkan peoples, not against those foreign governments which imposed the borders, cut off territories, which separated brothers from each other, and trampled upon the peoples' ideals--hatred was not directed against them, but against each other. In those days only the socialist parties--and following the October Revolution--the communist parties--used to tell the truth. They showed the way. But whom could the Balkan peoples rely upon in those days when in their own countries they were oppressed, exploited, and deprived of their rights? When the Balkan peoples finally understood that the things that bring them closer together are much stronger than those which separate them, imperialism once more changed its color, like a monstrous chameleon. It decided to take advantage of the Balkan peoples' aspiration for understanding and cooperation, in order to direct them against the first country of the victorious workers class. This is how the plans for the notorious Balkan entente were concocted.

It is true that at the climax of the "cold war" a new effort was made to put together a "Balkan pact" and that the territories of Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, were submitted for American and NATO bases, that for the first time in history the deadly nuclear weapons were deployed on these territories

and that the Balkans were once more transformed into a diminished copy of our contemporary, divided, manyfaceted, and restless world. It is, however, also true, that the Balkan states, which are part of the powerful defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact, became an invincible support for the peaceful aspirations of all peoples on our European peninsula, that the will of our neighbors not to admit any foreign matters in their homes has grown. Let us just recall the decision of the Greek Government to cancel the country's membership in the NATO military organizations and the struggle of both the Greek and Cypriot peoples against the presence of American and NATO bases on their territories. Let us also recall the historic declaration of Andreas Papandreou, the Greek premier, who stated that, as to Greece, the threat against its national territory does not come from the socialist north, but from the NATO policy of its neighbor country Turkey, which is an ally. This political declaration--a model of statesmanlike wisdom and civil courage--was actually an omen of the ensuing, decisive and drastic change in Balkan relations. This change did not come unexpectedly and was by no means surprising. It was prepared thanks to the consistent and constructive policy of peace and good-neighborly relations of socialist Bulgaria, but also thanks to the policy of the other socialist Balkan states, as well as, above all, thanks to the purpose-oriented efforts of the Soviet Union.

It is by no means a coincidence that the proposal of our party and state leadership for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and peaceful cooperation, into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone without enmities and threats, were submitted to the occasion of the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, by one of the most ancient states on the European continent, one which has contributed to the history of this continent, which has even given a name to the peninsula--the name of our mountainous backbone. Peace and good-neighborly relations were the first assignment of our young diplomacy, following 9 September 1944. However these principles became the very embodiment of our foreign policy, after the irreversible days of the April plenum. Both with its economic power and with its indisputable international prestige the word of socialist Bulgaria has already achieved high value in the international dialogue and our country is a respected and irreplaceable partner in bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation.

The April plenum foreign policy has numerous aspects, but two among them are of decisive importance. During the memorable three decades which have elapsed since the April plenum, our foreign policy efforts, here in the Balkans, as well as far from our territories, were always guided by the demand for a deeply realistic policy, and by our concern for the protection of peace--our common cause. We are far from the idyllic image of the Balkans as a paradise of good intentions and noble designs, but we are also far from thinking it impossible to attain an all-Balkan agreement. We are still burdened by the heritage of the past, the barriers of distrust; the remnants of the past oppression of our consciousness. The same old "well-wishers" still act against us with their nuclear weapons in their luggage, well-wishers who transform the home of the Balkan peoples into a target, instead of a sanctuary. However, the voice of Bulgaria is a voice of common sense and action. It appeals to statesmanlike wisdom and goodwill. This truth will undoubtedly be confirmed at the 13th BCP Congress.

POLITICS

BULGARIA

NOVA SVETLINA EDITOR ON 'REVIVAL PROCESS'

AU111504 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 April on page 3 carries the 1,200-word "Statement of Comrade Kamen Kalinov, chief editor of the newspaper NOVA SVETLINA (NEW LIGHT) at the 13th BCP Congress, read on 3 April. Kalinov begins his statement by dwelling on the successes achieved by the BCP in various areas. He stresses "the great role and significance of the spring April breeze in fruitfully developing Bulgarian journalism," and expresses "deep gratitude to the party, the Central Committee, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, for the paternal care."

He describes the tasks of Bulgarian journalists, stressing the importance of the experience of Soviet journalists. Dwelling on his newspaper's activity, Kalinov depicts the topics developed by the reporters, and the efforts to expand contact with readers.

Turning to the "process of revival," Kalinov points out that "this is a natural, legitimate and irreversible process. It is a continuation and integral part of the Bulgarian national revival, which develops in our people's bosom and in our souls and hearts, as children of these Bulgarians who have been subjected to a cruel and compulsive Islamization and assimilation by the Ottoman oppressor."

Kalinov continues to say: "The process of revival is closely connected to the strengthening of the Bulgarian socialist nation and with the party's April strategy on the class-party, patriotic, and international education of the Bulgarian people. Engulfed by this historical process, the population could liberate itself from the burden of the past and manifest its Bulgarian national self-awareness, thanks to the scientifically based party policy and the conditions which have been created for developing and self-implementing on the part of the population as equal, full-fledged, highly educated, and enlightened managers and constructors of socialist Bulgaria." Kalinov stresses that "this process began immediately after Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke," and expresses the hope that it will inspire many creators from the sphere of intellectual activity. He completes his statement saying:

"Certain reactionary circles recently manifest excessive nervousness in connection with the process of revival. They assume the right to themselves to determine our national belonging, instead of leaving this to us, and interfere in our motherland's internal affairs."

"We, journalists, unmask and will unmask every attempt to interfere in our internal affairs. We have made our choice for ever in favor of our ancient Bulgarian roots and spirit, and in favor of our dear fatherland, Bulgaria. Those who engage in slander must understand the words of our great poet Ivan Vazov: 'One cannot extinguish the unextinguishable.' The sooner they understand this, the better for them."

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, TANSON MESSAGE TO HUNGARIAN LEADERS

AU071927 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee general secretary, to Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, and to Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on our own behalf we convey to the MSZMP Central Committee, to the Presidium, and to the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the entire Hungarian people, and to you in person the most sincere congratulations and greetings on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

During the past period, the Hungarian working people, under the leadership of the MSZMP and in close cooperation with the USSR and with the other fraternal countries, achieved remarkable successes in all fields of life, they drastically changed the appearance of their motherland and transformed it into a socialist state with a developed economy, and a prosperous culture, into a country with great, international prestige.

The Hungarian People's Republic considerably contributes to the consolidation of the Warsaw Pact Organization, to the unity and power of the socialist community, for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, for the preservation of peace, and for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples of Europe and the world. Your country is actively participating in CEMA and in socialist economic integration, in the implementation of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of CEMA member-countries.

We are expressing our deep satisfaction at the constant expansion and intensification of the friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

With all our hearts we wish you dear comrades, you and the fraternal Hungarian people, great successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress, as well as in the further construction of a developed socialist society in your country, and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV AWARDS UNNAMED ENTERPRISE

AU210911 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Stefan Stefanov report: "High Awards for the Frontrankers--Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Minister of National Defense, Awarded the 'Georgi Dimitrov' Order and the 'Banner of Labor Glory' to a Leading Enterprise in the Socialist Competition"--place not given]

[Excerpts] The working collective led by Engineer D. Shishkov has experienced many joyous moments in its 47-year-long history. However, yesterday (11 April) was a new, unique festival for the collective. High governmental awards were made to the enterprise and to the production frontrankers.

Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, Stoyan Koshulev, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the okrug [not further specified] people's committee, and many guests took their places in the business presidium for the festive event. [Passage omitted on reading of decrees granting the awards]

To the banner of the enterprise, next to the "Red Banner of Labor" and "People's Republic of Bulgaria" (Second Class) Orders, Army General Dobri Dzhurov also attached our highest order, which bears the name of the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people. He handed the "Banner of Labor Glory" to Engineer Shishkov and presented the orders to the winners.

When he congratulated the working collective in the name of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and personally in his own name on the occasion of the awarding of the highest distinction for important successes in the complex fulfillment of the plan for the Eighth 5-Year-Plan period, Army General Dobri Dzhurov addressed warm words to those present. He dwelt on the new tasks stemming from the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress which the workers and specialists must now resolve. The new formulations and requirements require, stressed the speaker, that "discipline in all its aspects must be brought to the forefront. A greater degree of planning, organization, and high exigence must be put into all activities. This requires a radical reorganization to be carried out both in thought and in actions, and in the organization and style of work and leadership. It must be more energetic and businesslike."

/9738

CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES SYRIA'S AL-ASAD ON NATIONAL DAY

AU181246 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Apr 86 p 1, 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic:

It is a pleasure for me to send most cordial greetings in the name of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, [PRB] and personally in my own name to you and the friendly Syrian people on the occasion of the national day of the Syrian Arab Republic--the 40th anniversary of the evacuation of foreign troops from Syrian territory.

The Bulgarian people has been following with interest the successes of the friendly Syrian people achieved under your leadership on the part of the country's progressive socioeconomic development. The role of friendly Syria is well known in foiling the attempts of American imperialism to impose its hegemony in the Middle East region, using for this purpose the aggressive expansionist aspirations of its strategic ally Israel. The Syrian Arab Republic is playing a leading role in uniting the Arab progressive and national patriotic forces in their joint struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for the return of the occupied Arab territories, in guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and in foiling the attempts to impose a pro-imperialist solution of the Middle East problem. We highly value the Syrian leadership's contribution to the continued deepening of the cooperation and friendly links of the Syrian Arab Republic and the other Arab nations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community--true friends of the just Arab cause. We welcome this political line conducted by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and the National Progressive Front.

I wish to assure you, Comrade Asad, that the traditional friendly relations between the PRB and the Syrian Arab Republic, and between the BCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, will continue in the future to develop on the sound basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and in the interest of our two peoples, of the solidarity and cooperation between the Arab countries and the countries of the socialist community, and of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress.

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CSO: 2200/115



POLITICS

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETES CUBA ON PLAJA GIRON ANNIVERSARY

AU211010 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Apr 86 p 6

[Greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party on the 25th anniversary of Plaja Giron victory]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC]:

On the occasion of the glorious 25th anniversary of the victory over the imperialist aggression in Plaja Giron, we send you, the communists and people of fraternal Cuba, most cordial greetings on behalf of the communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

This victory, achieved immediately after proclaiming the socialist character of the revolution, demonstrated the remarkable heroism of the Cuban people, and its firm determination to defend its independence and national dignity. It visually demonstrated the internationalism and solidarity of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and all progressive and democratic forces with the just cause of the Cuban revolution.

The ideological-political unity of the Cuban revolutionaries was tempered in those days, something which had a great significance in developing and strengthening the CCP. Loayl to the teaching of Marxism Leninism in the past period it grew and consolidated as the universally recognized leader of the Cuban working people in the construction of new life. With its comprehensive successes and principled foreign policy, socialist Cuba today deservedly enjoys high international authority and recognition throughout the world.

We are happy that the close friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples has constantly grown on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism and in the name of our common goals. We again confirm our steady solidarity with the Cuban people, which under difficult conditions is selflessly and enthusiastically constructing the socialist society. We are convinced that Bulgarian-Cuban relations will develop further for the benefit of the two peoples, and will contribute to the

cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, and to strengthening the unity of action of the progressive forces in the struggle for peace and security throughout the world.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you, Dear Cuban comrades, ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the historical Third PCC Congress, for the further socialist progress of your beautiful homeland.

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

STANKO TODOROV ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

AU272023 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 14 March 1986 carries on pages 1 and 3, a 2,000-word article by Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, entitled: "Ideas and Deeds of Socialist Democracy" dealing with the importance of socialist democracy under the present circumstances, stressing that "real socialism and democracy are inseparable" concepts. Stanko Todorov attaches great importance to the influence of the April plenum in connection with the development of socialist democracy in Bulgaria, stating as follows:

"Following the April plenum the policy and traditions of expanding democracy within the party and within society which existed in Georgi Dimitrov's time were restored."

Todorov divides his article into three chapters in which he deals with three different aspects of socialist democracy, namely: political democracy; economic and labor democracy; and administrative and management democracy.

Under the chapter "political democracy," Stanko Todorov analyzes the question of "representative democracy", which was worked out at the 12th BCP Congress and "further developed" by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in various post-congress party documents. Todorov states in this context:

"Life demanded that the role of the National Assembly should be enhanced and this applies also to the development of the people's councils. Representative democracy had to be developed. Better conditions had to be created for the people's deputies to participate in the preliminary preparation of the questions which the parliament was expected to resolve. The control functions of the National Assembly are to be consolidated and a more expanded and more dynamic system for the ministers and other high-ranking political leaders accounting for their activities to the parliamentary commissions and at National Assembly sessions are to be created. The relations between National Assembly deputies and their constituents are to be improved."

Stanko Todorov further dwells on important draft projects of legislation, such as the Labor Code and the new Family Code which are subjected to nationwide discussion. Todorov adds that "public discussions and referenda on questions of common interest" should be further expanded in the future and that the work of parliament should be widely propagated "so that the Bulgarian public may be acquainted with the achievements of the Supreme Organ of state power in the interest of the people's prosperity." He stresses the importance of improving the "forms and methods of work of the National Assembly" so that they may be transformed from "organs which administer on behalf of the people, into organs of the working people themselves for the expansion of socialist self-government", according to the Leninist behest. Todor deals with the increased role of local government through the people's councils and municipal councils and with the working people's participation in administration.

"The congress directive to enrich direct democracy really introduced changes in social thought and action," Todorov states. He stresses that "competitive and election principles were introduced in numerous administrative activities, in enterprises and economic organizations." He adds that "only if criticism and self-criticism, without which socialism cannot develop, are used in a more purposeful and more efficient manner, will we achieve progress."

Todorov emphasizes the role of the individual citizen in exercising socialist democracy describing it in the following passage: "The socialist working man, who has the right to enjoy the assets of socialist democracy, is obliged to be an active factor in consolidating this democracy. The violations of the Leninist principle of leadership, the cases of suppressing criticism, formal criticism, and other undesirable phenomena are possible in those collectives and territorial units where passive attitudes and indifference toward public interests are manifested."

Dealing with economic and labor democracy Todorov points out the importance of the new Labor Code in clarifying the role of the collective as "owner and manager of socialist property" and states: "We are aware of the fact that we still have much to accomplish for a strict observation of the state of the collective as owner and manager of enterprises, which are self-governing units; we still have much to accomplish in making people familiar with the great idea about self-governing in their own interest, as well as in the public interest."

Stanko Todorov devotes the last portion of his article to socialist democracy in administration and management. He states in this connection:

"Socialist democracy greatly depends upon the manner in which the state organs function, it depends upon the state and the activities of the social organizations and movements. The efforts during the period between the 12th and 13th congresses were devoted to the essential issues of administration, so that the political and economic methods and means of leadership may prevail and a struggle may be waged against administrative-bureaucratic methods of work, so that better relations may be established between the centralized administration and the role of local organs and organizations,

so that strict discipline and personal responsibility of cadres in administrative organs may be introduced." In dealing with overcoming shortcomings in administration, Todorov points out that "certain shortcomings in the methods and style of work have become chronic and intolerable. In this context we should examine the organizational-structural changes implemented in 1986 by the National Assembly within the Council of Ministers and its organs. As was pointed out at the January 1986 plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the goal is to achieve a new quality in the mutual relations between the basis and the super-structure, between central and basic organs."

Stanko Todorov closes his article by mentioning the role of "social organizations", including the Fatherland Front in connection with perfecting socialist democracy. He describes the tasks of the Fatherland Front: "The Fatherland Front organizations and leaderships must assist the territorial units with their competent leading bodies, capable of settling the problems of the working people, of daily life and concerning the needs of the population. They must keep the people's masses informed and study their opinions. They must support uncompromising measures against anyone who undermines socialist democracy, against those who violate discipline, the responsibilities and the obligations to implement the decisions that have been adopted."

Todorov ends his article with the statement that "following the 13th BCP Congress we will raise the April policy of efficient socialist democracy to an even higher stage."

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

YOTOV ON MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY LINE

AU041105 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 March 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, editor in chief of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "The Marxist-Leninist Policy is a Class-Party Policy"]

[Excerpts] Our party, the party of Bulgarian communists, and our entire people are facing an important event. Within 3 days the 13th BCP Congress is opening.

This high party forum is called upon to confirm, further develop, and enrich with new ideas and new postulates the decisions adopted by the February 1985 and January 1986 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, which were devoted to the implementation of scientific-technological revolution in our country. The Congress is called upon to map out a specific program on the achievement of this necessary, vitally important, and decisive goal.

As Lenin wrote: "The essence of Marx's teaching is the clarification of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the builder of the socialist society." (Lenin, collected works, vol 23, p 1). The April plenum policy of the BCP is permeated by this consistent class stand. Uncompromisingly loyal and faithful to Marxism-Leninism, our April policy expresses the interests of the workers class, the class whose historical goals are in full conformity with the basic and vital needs of all working people, in accordance with social progress, and with the real future of human civilization.

It is precisely because of the fact that the April policy is a class-party policy, that it correctly reflects the natural laws of contemporary social development, by penetrating the essence of social processes and phenomena. This is, precisely, why the April policy is an innovating and deeply scientific policy. Hence, the active, revolutionary, and transforming character of this policy, which is expressed in the inspiring program of the April plenum for drastic changes for the better, as well as for the perfection of socioeconomic reality in our country, for the sake of the people's happiness.

The class-party character of the April policy is its basic, essential trait, which is determined by its Marxist-Leninist nature, as well as by the objective reality under the conditions in which it is developing. We are building socialism under the circumstances of a complicated, international situation, under the conditions of the constantly exacerbating aggressive character of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, and above all, of American imperialism, forces which are trying to stop the objective progress of history and to achieve social revenge. The class-party character of the April policy gives correct guidelines even for the most complicated social situations and enables us to determine our priority targets and tasks, as well as to adopt correct political decisions from the position of the workers class, from the point of view of the socialist workers, and on the basis of the requirements of social progress.

Both its patriotism, which is closely linked to the people, as well as its proletarian and socialist internationalism are stemming from the class-party character of the April policy. The healthy influence of revolutionary traditions strongly influences this fact. Under the leadership of Dimitur Blageov and Georgi Dimitrov our party developed as one of the strongest links of the international communist and workers movement. As early as in 1915 Lenin called the Bulgarian leftwing socialists "real internationalists" and this represented the highest possible evaluation of their consistently defended class positions, by which they manifested themselves as the most consistent, and most truly patriotic force in our society of that epoch.

One of the essential features of the April policy is that fact that any national parochialism and conceit is alien to it. It is true, that the April policy was shaped and developed on the basis of our national experience in building socialism. However, it by no means neglected the achievements and the experience of the fraternal countries within the socialist community, and of the Soviet Union, in particular, which has the greatest experience and "time of service" in the construction of the new society. There is even more--the April policy takes into consideration the interests of the international communist and workers movement. Generally speaking, the study and creative application of the international socialist experience and the consideration for the needs of the worldwide social progress are one of the most important sources for the further development of the April policy, for the implementation of its historical mission.

At the same time, we can say that the shaping and development of the April policy throughout the last 3 decades represents an essential contribution of the BCP to the cause of socialism. By successfully implementing the April policy we are fulfilling our international duty at the same time. Our country unrelentingly follows the policy of comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and its contributes to the consolidation of the power and unity of action of the worldwide socialist system, of the international communist and workers movement, of all progressive forces in resolving the historical task--namely to achieve frontranking positions in science and technology for the sake of the further improvement of the

people's well-being in the socialist countries and for intensifying our common defense potential, as well as for defending peace and international security, and for rescuing mankind from thermo-nuclear disaster.

The general Leninist April plenum policy is a vital party line, which is constantly developing and being enriched in conformity with the requirements of life, in conformity with the objective needs of our epoch. This is a line of communist revolutionary thought and of revolutionary action.

The most recent theoretical elaborations and practical approaches of our party, in particular as regards the decisions of the February 1985 and the January 1986 plenum of the BCP Central Committee are brilliant confirmations of the creative and constructive spirit of the April policy. These decisions developed the global strategy and the practical platform for the implementation of the historical task--namely the task of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution for the successful construction of mature socialist society in our country. The April policy today is mapping out unmistakable and well-founded future prospects for the planned and comprehensive development of mature socialism upon the basis of scientific-technological progress. The very fact that this task was assigned to us is a characteristic trait of the unlimited constructive opportunities of the April policy, because we are talking about an objective and real expression of the social need which is of decisive importance for the development of our society. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out: "Without the scientific-technological revolution it is impossible to build an adequate material-technical base for mature socialism and for the people's material well-being, and to ensure the all-round development of the human personality and its highly effective self-realization.

"In other words, without the scientific-technical revolution neither 'mature' nor 'immature' socialism can exist."

The Leninist general April policy of the BCP, only within 3 decades, has placed our society in the front ranks of world progress. It has ensured our society's accelerated and comprehensive upsurge. Creative and constructive, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the revolutionary traditions of our party, the April policy will be useful to us today and tomorrow--for the happiness of our working people and for achieving our communist ideals.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

NEW EDITION OF ZHIVKOV'S WORKS ON ROLE OF SCIENCE

AU210916 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 14 April 1986 carries on pages 1 and 2 an unattributed 900-word review of a new 2-volume collected edition of works by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. The review is entitled "Science--a Mighty Productive Force," with the subheading: "A Two-Volume Edition of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Works Has Been Published." The reviewer first notes that the edition "has been offered by Partizdat first of all to the delegates of the 13th BCP Congress, and now to the whole of our public."

The reviewer describes the edition as containing "reports, speeches, addresses, articles, and lectures of our first party and state leader." The reviewer finds that "one main formulation" permeates all the various works: "The BCP will fulfill its historical calling to be the party-leader of our people in the struggle to build socialism and communism only if it relies on the achievements of modern science, and if it applies a scientific approach in its activity. Now Bulgarian science is required to attain a level at which any activity--from material production to intellectual life--is to develop on a modern scientific basis, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and with the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution."

The reviewer notes that "a central place" among the works presented "is taken by Comrade Todor Zhivkov's elaborations following the 12th BCP Congress," and that "a peak in these elaborations are the Report and the Introductory and Concluding Speeches at the February 1985 BCP Central Committee plenum." "These are followed in chronological order by other works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, which present a very complete picture of his ideas and views in this field," continues the reviewer. He concludes by noting that the contents of the two books "enable one to see the theoretical and practical contribution of the BCP in the working out of the problems of science and scientific-technical progress."

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

KUBADINSKI ON FATHERLAND FRONT ROLE, APRIL LINE

AU070843 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 2 April on pages 1 and 4 carries a 3,500-word article by Pencho Kubadinski, "member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council," entitled "A Bigger Role and More Responsibilities." In it Kubadinski reviews on the eve of the 13th BCP Congress the role in Bulgarian society of the Fatherland Front, arguing that it has consistently supported the BCP in its policies, which have been responsible for Bulgaria's recent successful development.

Kubadinski begins by discussing the importance of party congresses in general, stressing that "the party is approaching its 13th Congress with a clear awareness of its successes and the problems that have remained unsolved, and of the need to create the necessary political, economic, and ideological preconditions for implementing the scientific-technological revolution." He surveys Bulgaria's successes since the BCP Central Committee April 1956 plenum, pointing out that "neither the complicated international situation nor the raw material-energy crisis and the unfavorable climatic conditions could stop the striving of our people to achieve the dynamic economic and social development of their country." In this context he dwells on the "wise and farsighted policy of the BCP" and the "comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together between Bulgaria and the USSR," as factors in Bulgaria's successes. On "weaknesses", Kubadinski, without specifying them, stresses that "the party boldly and openly directs its attention toward the weaknesses and the new higher requirements and criteria, and has developed a bold program for implementing the scientific-technological revolution under our conditions." He points out "good organization, order and discipline, a businesslike approach, concrete deeds, and an uncompromising struggle against apathy, hubbub, and all mistakes and weaknesses" as preconditions for implementing this program.

Kubadinski analyzes the role of the Fatherland Front in the country's economic, social, and political life. In this context he mentions the "special decision of the BCP Central Committee of 1957 on the activity and tasks of the Fatherland Front," pointing out that "at every stage of the country's development the party carefully and in a well-grounded manner determined the place and tasks of the Fatherland Front as an important element in society's social life and political system."

On the specific tasks of the Fatherland Front, Kubadinski lists among others such functions as: serving as "the most popular sociopolitical organization and all-people movement"; "the most numerous social support of the party and the people's government and an important factor in mobilizing the people for participating in the government and the development of socialist democracy"; "participating in the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy."

On the most recent tasks of the Fatherland Front, Kubadinski mentions its role in "further strengthening the family," "solving demographic problems," and putting the new Labor Code into effect.

In the last part of his article Kubadinski concentrates on the "contribution of the Fatherland Front to enhancing the political guarantees for developing the economic foundations of socialist democracy in the conurbation systems." In this context he dwells on the role of the Fatherland Front during the election campaigns, and the need to create closer links between the deputies and their constituencies after the elections.

Kubadinski concludes by pledging that "our entire people, united in the Fatherland Front and rallied around the BPC, will produce an accelerating impetus for the further development of our socialist motherland."

No further processing planned.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

STANISHEV RECEIVES ISRAELI CP LEADER--Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, yesterday met Zahi Karkabi, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Israel and the leader of the delegation from the Communist Party of Israel which took part in the work of the 13th BCP Congress. At the meeting, which was held in a warm comradely atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on topical questions relating to the international situation and the communist movement. A protocol was agreed for cooperation between the BCP and the Communist Party of Israel during the 1986-87 period. Complete unanimity was noted on all the issues discussed. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 86 p 12 AU] /9738

ATANASOV RECEIVES POLISH AMBASSADOR--Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received Wieslaw Beck, the newly appointed Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria. Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Apr 86 p 2 AU] /9738

CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERIOR MINISTER NOTES CRIME RISE IN 1985

AU201025 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Apr 86 p 2

[CTK report: "Regular Wednesday Press Conference With CSSR Minister of Interior"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--CSSR Minister of Interior Vratislav Vajnar gave a press conference on Wednesday [16 April].

He said that members of the National Security Corps [SNB] and the Border Guards' units, and the troops of the Ministry of Interior are fulfilling well the tasks of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state, and reliably safeguarding the results of our people's work. In 1985, compared with the preceding year, there was a moderate fall in the number of punishable offenses, especially general crime. However, there was an increase in damage caused. The criminal activity of recidivists, who account for 56 percent of crimes against property, for example, is an enduring problem.

The security agencies are devoting themselves systematically to the protection of socialist economy. The number of identified punishable offenses and transgressions increased by almost 5 percent. The theft of property in socialist ownership is the most frequent crime. The number of identified punishable offenses against economic discipline tripled last year.

Despite a number of road safety measures, members of the SNB last year recorded a negative development in traffic accidents. They investigated a total of 103,000 accidents, in which 1,290 persons were killed, and 5,587 seriously injured. Material losses reached Kcs495.5 million.

Vratislav Vajnar also spoke about the preventive-educational activity of members of the SNB, and the share of members of Auxiliary Guards of the Public Security Corps in safe guarding public order and in the struggle against all forms of criminal activity. He thanked the Czechoslovak media for their effective cooperation. In the closing part of his speech he spoke about tasks which the 17th CPCZ Congress had entrusted to our security agencies.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMUNISTS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SEEN SHARING VIEWS

AU141132 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Rastislav Toth, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences on the staff of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Comenius University in Bratislava: "The Communists, the Social Democrats, and Peace; Reflecting on the Deliberations and Conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] We are living at a time when advances in science and technology are having a big impact on the overall social development. On the one hand, they enable man to acquire a broader knowledge of the processes of nature and to control them; they make work more intellectual and increase leisure hours. On the other hand, they also make it possible to create a potential source for the self-destruction of mankind. In this context the role of politics as being a specific approach of classes, political parties, states, organizations, and movements to how mankind's intellectual capacity and production potential are applied is growing.

The 27th CPSU Congress took place in the spirit of understanding this responsibility, and was oriented toward making the peace activity of the party and the Soviet state more effective. [passage omitted quoting from Gorbachev's report] The proposal to reduce the strengths of armed forces and armaments, not to deploy arms in outer space, and to remove nuclear arms by the year 2000, represent the Soviet communists' significant contribution to the discussion on the way to remove the threat of war.

Both these proposals and the USSR's moratorium on nuclear tests have enhanced the world public's interest in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. It is evident that Western statesmen cannot ignore the specific proposals mentioned above, or demagogically reject them without risk of losing the credibility they need among their own population. In the eighties a most active mass peace movement was created, mainly in Western Europe--a movement that is striving to influence the policy of its own states. An important role in this process is played by the activities of the parties of social democrats and communists in Western Europe. These parties have a great influence on the working masses and their organizations, and they themselves represent the more progressive part of the political spectrum of their countries. Well, what are their political stances with regard to the policy of peace?

Last year, the stances of social democrats and of communists drew closer together on several issues. Although no total unity exists within the social democratic movement, it can be said that the majority of these parties supports the proposals to ban nuclear arms tests and not to deploy arms in outer space, and that they are in favor of toning down armament, of eliminating nuclear arms by the end of the century, and of establishing European zones free of atomic and chemical weapons. Likewise, there has been a positive shift in the issue of so-called NATO military augmentation [dozbrojenie] with American intermediate-range missiles, a shift that is manifested in the criticism of the original decision of 1970. This year the leadership of the British Labor Party has gone even further, declaring that, in the event of a future election victory, it would cancel the "right of stay" for American missiles on the territory of Great Britain.

Currently, the greatest influence for a realistic shift of political stances in the social democratic movement is being exerted by the social democratic parties of Sweden and the FRG. Ex-chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, Olof Palme, persistently called for a ban on nuclear tests and the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia and the Balkans. O. Palme's successor in the party and state function, Ingvar Carlsson, has affirmed the continuity of Sweden's domestic and foreign policy, reiterating his party's intention to contribute toward setting up nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe.

The foreign policy pursued by the West German SPD can also be currently called peace-promoting. [passage omitted quoting Gorbachev on the point during the Geneva summit] This March the SPD leadership called on the FRG Government to cancel its participation in space armament projects, to halt the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory, and to support the moratorium on nuclear tests. Moreover, already last year the West German Social Democrats expressed support for the GDR and CSSR Governments' proposal to establish a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe, and criticism of the Bonn Government for its negative stand on this proposal.

Today the Social Democrats acknowledge the parity of arms arsenals of the Warsaw and NATO Pact countries; this creates a good starting point for negotiations on a mutual reduction of the strengths and armaments of armed forces. The SPD leadership is in favor of concluding an agreement between the two military-political groupings mentioned above. Likewise, the realization of the idea of removing nuclear arms from the territories of states which do not possess them would represent an emphatic step forward.

As can be seen, the communists and a larger part of the social democrats have concurrent views on the basic issues of maintaining peace. Despite the ideological discrepancies following from the substance of the two types of political movements, a mutual harmonization of opinions and activities in strengthening peace is feasible. "An unprejudiced knowledge of mutual stands and views is definitely useful for both the communists and the social democrats. It is useful primarily for activating the fight for peace and international security." These words were spoken by Mikhail Gorbachev on the first day of the 27th CPSU Congress. The fact that

representatives of 21 social democratic, socialist, and labor parties and of the Socialist International heard them as direct participants in the congress enhances the chances of consolidating peace. This was the very first time that representatives of this kind of party had participated in a CPSU congress. This fact is most important, because it happened in a period of deliberating whether the world will be taking the path of mutual understanding, or the path that can lead to its self-destruction.

A similar opinion on the need for communists and social democrats to adopt a joint course in the process of consolidating peace was voiced by Egon Bahr, SPD Presidium member: "Neither the substantial differences of opinion, nor differing ideologies must make cooperation impossible in the most important issue of today. No differences can be so great as to prevent us from fighting to preserve peace." And W. Brandt adds to this: "The current equilibrium of fear must be replaced by the equilibrium of common sense and a concept of mutual security."

Stability and more frequent mutual contacts are important organizational aspects of understanding in international relations. Such a trend was a marked feature during last year. As chairman of the Socialist International, W. Brandt visited Moscow, Prague, Bratislava, and Warsaw in 1985; and everywhere he stressed that the treaties which he had signed in 1970 as FRG Chancellor with the USSR, CSSR, and Poland represent "a factor of stability and cooperation which ensures peace." At the head of a SPD delegation H.J. Vogel visited Prague and Lidice, where he bowed to the memory of the victims of fascism. As head of a contact group of the Socialist International Kalevi Sorsa conducted negotiations in Moscow, with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. An agreement has also been concluded on the joint deliberations of CPCZ and SPD delegations on the issues of environmental protection. The culmination was reached with the broad and representative participation of the social democratic movement at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The communists realize that the stability of peace can only be achieved by joint effort. Although official contacts between the communist and social democratic parties of West European countries are rare, their rank-and-file party members represent the most active faction of peace actions.

Currently, the significance of peace movements as the political factor of the development of society is growing. The stimulus to enhance activity is given by the militarist policy of both the U.S. Government, and the governments of conservative bourgeois parties in Western Europe. This leads the people of different political orientations and various occupations to engage in protest actions against the militarization of international relations. As stated by Luis van Geyt, chairman of the Belgian Communist Party, the main force of the antimissile movement are the leftwingers: the communists, the trade unionists, and the members of socialist parties. The mass nature, unity, and enthusiasm of the fight for peace are a phenomenon of political life which, as soon as it achieves a certain level of its own development must produce the expected turn in the policy of the



capitalist world. An increasing number of people in the world are realizing their personal responsibility for the world development.

The year 1986 is the International Year of Peace. The 27th CPSU Congress has shown us the way to fulfill its substance. Peace is not an ideological goal of an individual movement, which contradicts other movements. It is the first condition of human existence and of the advance of man. That is why it is the duty of communists, social democrats, trade unionists, youth union members, and people with a democratic way of thinking to integrate their own forces actively and efficiently for the cause of peace.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE ISSUES DECLARATION

AU081300 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Apr 86 p 2

[CTK report: "A Step Into the World Without Nuclear Arms"]

[Text] Prague--The leadership of the Christian Peace Conference (KMK) has issued a declaration in which it expresses high appreciation of the USSR's peace proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev. In the declaration the KMK stresses that our entire planet could be an area free of nuclear arms at the beginning of the year 2000!

The declaration states further, among other things: The reunification of all nuclear tests that was announced unilaterally by the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and which it has been adhering to already for 8 months, is a courageous step in the right direction, a step into a world without nuclear arms.

The decision to carry out further nuclear explosions, which the American Government published a few days ago, appears incomprehensible both to Christians and to non-Christians, to believers and to nonbelievers.

The disappointment is worldwide, and is bound to no specific political or religious conviction. That is why the KMK is all the more grateful to the Soviet Union for its willingness not to carry out any nuclear tests even after the expiration of the unilateral moratorium on 31 March of this year--provided the United States will make use of the chance again offered in its mankind's interest, and will adopt a decision corresponding to this.

We firmly believe that the leading representatives of the two nuclear great powers will come to an agreement on meeting as soon as possible, in order to achieve a good social decision in this vitally important issue.

It is still not too late to halt nuclear armament, and particularly all tests of nuclear arms. It is still not too late to recognize that peace can be achieved in the future only jointly, on the basis of common security and without striving for a military supremacy.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH UNION MEMBERS DUE FOR SCREENING

AU210939 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 9 April on page 7 carries a 700-word article by Kamil Kollarik, head of the political-organizational department of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM], entitled "Interviews Will Suggest a Lot." The article announces an exchange of the membership cards of older members of the Socialist Youth Union as of 1 July this year.

Kollarik says, among other things: "The last exchange of the SSM membership cards 10 years ago was a one-off campaign that affected more than 1.5 million of its members. This year, starting on 1 July, another exchange of membership cards will be carried out, although on a smaller scale. Only the membership cards of those youth union members who have been SSM members for 10 years or more are subject to the exchange, regardless of the functions of their holders. This means that in the course of 1986 the membership cards of approximately 200,000 members will be exchanged, to be followed by about 150,000 exchanges each subsequent year."

Kollarik says that the basic prerequisite for the issuance of a new membership card is an interview with the SSM member concerned. The aim of these interviews, he says, is to "get to know in detail the members' view on the activity of the organization; to find out what he is missing and what he appreciates about it; and to derive inspiration from his suggestions." The interviews should help to "further improve the SSM's activity, to deepen each member's ties with his organization, and to strengthen the authority of the SSM in society and, of course, among the young generation."

According to Kollarik, the outward appearance of the new membership cards will not differ from those currently used. The card will be the same for all SSM members (though there will be a Czech and a Slovak version) and will have a validity of 12 years. Kollarik says that in the first stage of the exchange drive, primary organizations should compile lists of members affected by it and carry out interviews with them. In the second stage, in November and December, primary SSM organizations ought to conduct member meetings and discuss the results of interviews. Finally, the "solemn presentation" of the new cards should be a part of the annual members meetings in January and February 1987.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS SUPPORTS ELECTION PROGRAM

AU211459 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)--At its Prague session the Federal Committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy expressed support for the further upsurge of our society. In its statement on its position it says that it welcomes the election program of the CSSR National Front, and stresses that, together with all citizens, believers will also vote in the elections for the bodies of representatives, so that the CSSR may advance in the awareness of orderly and dignified human life.

The statement on its position further states that all citizens in our fatherland live in the 40th year of its liberation from the yoke and bondage of war. This reality is permeated by an atmosphere of calm, of peace, and of the common creative work and social certainties of the Czech and Slovak peoples and of the other nationalities living in our republic. Believers and their clergy also have their place in this reality.

In the light of the ethical values guaranteed by the untiring peace initiative of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries, and of peace-loving forces in the world, social achievements have been made that are justly called real social progress. This progress is expressed in the comprehensive development of the human personality, in the improvement of living standards, in the elimination of unemployment--and even in the fact that the young and middle generations are ignorant of this term--as well as in a secure old age, in charity activities, in the improvement of relations between state and Church, and in the cultivation of respect for our constitution and for the rights and duties of all citizens. These positive aspects justify our hope for a calm tomorrow and for the long-term development of our nations in our common fatherland.

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2 June 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE MESSAGE TO 17TH PCI CONGRESS

AU191127 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 7

[Miroslav Courton Florence dispatch: "CPCZ Central Committee's Greetings Message to the PCI Congress; From Our Special Correspondent"]

[Excerpts] The deliberations of the 17th PCI Congress in Florence, the capital of Toscana, continued on Friday [11 April] with the debate on the report submitted on the first day of the congress by A. Natta, PCI secretary general. The delegates' attention was focused both on issues connected with the social and political situation in the country and the party's tasks following from this, and also on the possibilities of the Italian Communists' contribution to the battle for peace. The CPCZ delegation attending the 17th PCI Congress, led by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission, presented a greetings message to the congress.

The other foreign delegations did the same, since--according to the standing order of the congress' proceedings, foreign guests do not speak at the congress, and present written messages instead.

The greetings message begins with the comradely greetings sent to the 17th PCI Congress by the CPCZ Central Committee, and then states: The 17th PCI Congress is convening at a time when the issues of peace and war are the main problems of our time. We are convinced that peaceful coexistence and advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems are the only correct path that leads toward the normalization of the international atmosphere. It is the peoples' wish to live and work in peace.

Imperialism is unleashing crazy armaments races, even in outer space; it is meddling in countries' internal affairs; it is threatening them; and it is attacking countries that defend their freedom and independence; it is bringing mankind to the verge of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Czechoslovak Communists are convinced that forces exist which are capable of averting these dark prospects.

The recent 17th congress of our party dealt with these issues, as well as with the further development of our fatherland, when it convened from 24-28 March. The congress identified itself with the Soviet Union's far-reaching peace program, which was proclaimed at the 27th CPSU Congress and which is aimed at totally eliminating nuclear arms and all weapons of mass destruction and at having a world with lasting peace on earth, as well as in space. The congress set before the party and before our entire society the clearcut, specific prospect of the further all-round development of our country up to the end of this century. It took stock of the results achieved by us since the last congress, and stated that we have succeeded in maintaining and improving the people's living standards and ensuring their social security. Czechoslovakia is entering the second half of the eighties as a consolidated, politically strong, and economically and socially mature state with high living and cultural standards for the people.

The greetings message then underscored that the main result of the CPCZ Congress lies in the adoption of the strategic line oriented toward accelerating economic, social, and society's development, primarily based on the intensive implementation of R&D progress, while noting that the program adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress corresponds to our real possibilities, expresses the basic interests and aspirations of the working people, and is in full harmony with the efforts of revolutionary and all progressive forces of the world.

The congress has again proved, the greetings message states, that it is the lasting line of the CPCZ's policy to develop and perfect socialist democracy and to expand even more the working people's participation in the management of state and public affairs.

The CPCZ is a powerful political force. Today it has 1,675,000 members and candidate members. Its worker core has been consolidated. Both the program and the policy of our party are attractive for the younger generation.

Our party always saw and sees the purpose of all its activity in service to the working people, in care for their welfare, in the effort for progress and peace. The greetings message states in conclusion: We wish the 17th congress of your party many successes in the fight for the working people's rights, for peace and socialism.

Let the cooperation between our parties be consolidated and expanded for the benefit of the people of Italy and Czechoslovakia!

[passage omitted reporting on speeches in the debate] During the congress the CPCZ delegation, led by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn, met with Fabio Mussi, member of the PCI's leadership, and with Gaetano Di Marino, deputy chairman of the PCI's Central Control Commission. In a friendly talk they assessed issues of developing further relations between the CPCZ and PCI, and exchanged views on the current international situation. The Italian comrades briefed the CPCZ delegation on the tasks formulated by the 17th PCI Congress for the coming period.

/9738

CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SYRIAN SOCIALIST RENAISSANCE PARTY GREETES 17TH CPCZ CONGRESS

AU211840 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Valiant Struggle of the Syrian People; Greetings Message of the Delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of the Syrian Arab Republic to the 17th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Comrade Tawfig Salih, member of the regional command of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of the Syrian Arab Republic, has delivered on the occasion of the 17th CPCZ Congress a message, whose full text we publish today:

"Comrades and friends! We are delighted to attend the 17th CPCZ Congress and be able on this important occasion to convey greetings and appreciation on behalf of our great party--the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party--and its General Secretary, Comrade-Fighter Hafiz al-Asad--to you, our comrades in the CPCZ and Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President, again expressing our full wish to strengthen and develop relations of friendship and cooperation which unite our two parties and our nations, and for the realization of which the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our two befriended countries creates a natural and good framework.

"We greatly rejoice over the great successes and accomplishments, which the friendly Czechoslovak people have achieved in various spheres, and which have contributed to the further development of the CSSR and to the upsurge in its citizens' prosperity. They also constitute a significant contribution to the deepening and strengthening of the world struggle against the onslaught of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, because American imperialism--in coordination with its allies--creates by its aggressive policy a real danger for world peace, supports racist and reactionary regimes and separatist movements, deploys missiles in Europe, prepares the so-called "star wars", sets up bases, undertakes aggressions against the sovereignty of independent states, pacts [as published] its strategy with reactionary, racist, and fascist regimes, such as its alliance with the Zionist and racist formation [utvar] in occupied Palestine. By its aggressive policy, it wants to force hegemony and its rule upon the greatest possible area of the world.

"The Arab region suffered and still suffers under this aggressive policy. The United States of America has coordinated its strategy with the Zionist formation, which constitutes the worst kind of fascism and racism, and extends to it material, political, and military assistance in various forms, in addition to the assistance provided to it by its vassals and by reaction, and continues to menace progressive regimes. By doing that, it is also responsible for everything that is happening in our region, whether wars, conspiracies, violence, wrongdoings, destruction, occupation, or bloodshed are involved.

"For all these reasons, on behalf of our united Arab nation and in order to defend Arab rights, we have taken a resolute and firm stand to oppose conspiratory, imperialist, Zionist, and reactionary plans, which are aimed against the broadest masses of our Arab people; we have not spared great sacrifices. Our heroic armed forces are a firm defensive shield for our patriotic and national affairs, foremost of which is the Palestinian cause.

"On this occasion we reaffirm our firm and ever principled standpoint that we will oppose conspiratory plans regardless of the extent of the conspiracy, of the number of participants in it, regardless of its instruments and means.

"We rejected, and continue to reject, the conspiracy which the Camp David accords are, we reject all agreements which are to accomplish the liquidation of our cause, our weakening, and our capitulation.

"We will continue the work aimed at realizing Arab unity, which strengthens the armed struggle, and in various regions unites the Arab energy and its deployment in the struggle of fate [osudova] against imperialism and Zionism, and against Israel, their racist base.

"We were and will remain proponents of the unity of Palestinian fighting weapons, we favor stepping up the struggle of the Palestinian revolution. We affirm our firm will to strengthen combat cohesion with our Arab Palestinian people inside the occupied Arab territories and outside them, proceeding from a single objective and a single destiny on the path toward regaining the legitimate right to liberate a usurped country, and create an independent Palestinian state on the liberated national Palestinian soil.

"We in revolutionary Syria will continue our unlimited support for the Lebanese national resistance, which has created the most excellent examples of the contemporary Arab struggle, and the support of the Lebanese national standpoint, concentrating in particular on the liberation of territory, on driving the Zionist usurpers out, and on ensuring the independence of Lebanon and the unity of its territory and the people. The tripartite national agreement, which was signed recently in Damascus among the Lebanese parties, is a good framework, within which to realize these objectives. Those who oppose this agreement are helping the enemies of Lebanon, who are imperialists and Zionists and their allies. Revolutionary Syria, its



great people and the party that leads them, our Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, and the leadership of Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, together with loyal to principles, will remain under the banner of victims and struggle a firm base, on whose rock-like firm resistance all conspiracies will break down. [sentence as published] We will not permit American imperialism by its hegemony and influence in the Arab region to expose to aggression our own forces and the assistance and support of our friends in the world, led by the community of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the great and loyal friend of our party and our people and the fundamental force supporting our affairs and our standpoints, strengthening our determination in the sphere of construction and liberation. [sentence as published] We all believe that the nation at whose head Hafiz al-Asad stands, will achieve victory.

"We greet you and all progressive liberation forces in the world, headed by the friendly Soviet Union. We greet you and thank you for the cordial reception.

"In conclusion, we wish full success to the 17th CPCZ Congress, the realization of its great goals, and further progress and prosperity to the friendly Czechoslovak people.

"May the friendship between our parties and the people of our countries continue to strengthen."

/9738

CSO: 2400/267

2 June 1986

## BRIEFS

NEW IUS CHIEF--Josef Skala, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union, was designated chairman of the International Union of Students [IUS], replacing Miroslav Stepan, who was assigned to other duties. This was announced by Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, at a meeting of the leadership of the Socialist Youth Union, at a meeting of the leadership of the Socialist Youth Union and the Czechoslovak Federation of University Students with members of the IUS Secretariat in Prague on 10 March. Jaroslav Jeneral expressed appreciation for the work of Miroslav Stepan, under whose leadership the IUS increased its role in the world student movement and was active in pursuing the ideals of peace and progress. Jaroslav Jeneral conferred upon Miroslav Stepan honorary membership in the Socialist Youth Union in recognition of his work in the IUS. G. Michaelides, IUS secretary general, presented Miroslav Stepan with the highest IUS award--the November 17 Medal. Josef Skala, the new IUS chairman, was born in 1952 and is a graduate of the Department of Journalism at Charles University, Prague. He broadened his education within the framework of postgraduate studies at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College. He has held a number of functions in the university students' movement of the Socialist Youth Union. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /9738

HUSAK GREETES WINSTON--Prague--Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent Henry Winston, chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, a congratulatory telegram on the latter's 75th birthday. In the telegram he highly appraises H. Winston's lifelong work and personal contribution to the fight against imperialism and for the working people's social rights, for peace, and for consolidating the unity of the international communist and workers movement. In the telegram he also expresses the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the U.S. Communist Party will continue to develop successfully. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 86 p 1 AU] /9738

STROUGAL RECEIVES BULGARIA'S LUKANOV--Prague (CTK)--Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, received on Thursday [10 April] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the Days of Bulgarian Economy and Technology. Their talk concerned the further development of the two countries' national economies in the coming period, as follows from the resolutions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 13th BCP Congress. The reception was attended by Ladislav Gerle, CSSR deputy premier. Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, was also present. On the same day Comrade Andrey Lukanov was also received by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR deputy premier. Their talk concerned issues of developing Czechoslovak-Bulgarian economic relations. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Apr 86 p 3 AU] /9738

CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

POLAND

POLITBURO HAILS GORBACHEV SPEECH, LCY VISIT

AU071338 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[PAP: "Communique Following A Meeting of the Politburo"]

[Text] Having acquainted itself with the 29 March television speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo expressed its full support for the important contents of the Soviet stance. Only this way, it said, can peace be strengthened and mankind freed from the danger of thermonuclear annihilation.

Poland, together with the other socialist countries and the forces of peace and progress in the world, is taking active part in international efforts to achieve a complete stop to nuclear tests and thus consolidate the climate of confidence and cooperation, and will strengthen these efforts.

The Politburo acquainted itself with a report on the official friendly visit by the LCY Central Committee delegation headed by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency.

It said that this wasn't an important event in Polish-Yugoslav relations and that its results will have bearing on a further friendly and efficient development of cooperation between both parties and states.

Emphasis was laid on the importance of collaboration by both parties and states on the international arena in order to consolidate peace and equal, peaceful cooperation. Praise was accorded to the decisions, reached during the visit, to expand contacts and cooperation between the PZPR and LCY.

The Politburo also acquainted itself with the course and results of the working, friendly visit to our country by MSZMP general secretary Janos Kadar.

Emphasis was given to the meaning of the strategic paths of cooperation between both Marxist-Leninist parties, the PZPR and MSZMP, as well as the established plan of interparty cooperation.

The visit has served to tighten the ideopolitical bonds between the PZPR and MSZMP and has created new impulses in order to proceed to a higher stage

of comprehensive development of the traditionally friendly relations between both peoples. It has encouraged a further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community for the sake of perpetuating peace and security in Europe and the world.

The visits permitted an insight into the experiences of MSZMP and LCY party work.

The Politburo approved the conclusions and decisions reached during both visits. It instructed the relevant party cells to include these in their own programs of action and ensure their consistent practical implementation.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

JARUZELSKI, MESSNER SEND GREETINGS TO HUNGARIAN LEADERS

AU201022 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Greetings message from PZPR first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Zbigniew Messner to Hungarian counterparts on Hungarian National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary; Comrade Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Budapest:

Dear Comrades! On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, PPR State Council and Council of Ministers, and Polish people, we send you and through you the fraternal Hungarian people warm greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

The Polish people are monitoring with sincere warm feelings and friendship the efforts and achievements of the Hungarian people during the socialist construction that has been mapped out and directed by the MSZMP. By implementing the directives of the 13th MSZMP Congress, the Hungarian People's Republic is multiplying the national achievement and acting energetically for the sake of peace and progress.

Today, our traditionally fraternal relations are being enhanced by the internationalist ideological bond between the PZPR and MSZMP. The friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Poland and Hungary are reaching an increasingly higher level every year. This cooperation also serves to further consolidate the unity of the socialist community within the framework of the Warsaw Pact political-defense alliance and CEMA.

Poland and Hungary are also joined by common efforts to reduce the tension in the world and strengthen security and peace. The 27th CPSU Congress laid down viable ways of protecting mankind against the threat of nuclear extermination. Both our states are making a significant contribution to the struggle for a return to detente and equal cooperation and against the imperialist policy of arms race, blackmail, and discrimination in international relations. Supporting the principles of the CSCE, Poland and Hungary are consistently speaking out against attempts to undermine the territorial-political reality established after World War II.

On your National Day we wish you, dear comrades, and the entire Hungarian people further success on the path of socialist Hungary's comprehensive development, in strengthening your fatherland's international position, and in the joint struggle for lasting peace, social progress, and socialism.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman; Zbigniew Messner, PPR Council of Ministers chairman.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# REPORTAGE ON FOREIGN MINISTER ORZECZOWSKI'S VISIT TO FRG

## Connects Ties to East-West Relations

AU101328 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 p 7

[PAP report on speech by PPR foreign minister Marian Orzechowski during the first day of his FRG visit, Bonn, 7 April]

[Text] Minister Marian Orzechowski expressed satisfaction at being able to visit Bonn, this being an opportunity for an open and exhaustive exchange of views with key persons in the political life of the Federal Republic.

He stressed that his present visit is a practical expression of the readiness to seek possibilities of further normalizing and developing bilateral relations and, at the same time, of making a maximum contribution toward improving the international climate, and consolidating trends of detente and cooperation on our continent.

The state and prospects of relations between Poland and the FRG are closely connected with the development of the international situation and East-West relations. There are still disturbing phenomena in many spheres of international coexistence, M. Orzechowski said.

We regard the escalation of the arms race, especially nuclear arms, as a particular danger to world peace. Plans to include space in the armaments insanity are causing special concern among the peoples of Europe and the world.

The realization of the American "star wars" concept, which is based on a conviction that military superiority over the Soviet Union and socialist states is possible, is a dangerous illusion that carries incalculable consequences. It would lead to an even more dangerous arms spiral which would destroy international confidence and the entire infrastructure of international relations.

The FRG, which together with some other Western states is actively supporting the American SDI and taking part in its implementation, has assumed a great responsibility toward its own society and all the peoples of Europe. We in Poland are observing this development of the situation with unease and great concern.

Aware of its tragic experiences, Poland, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, is not sparing efforts to prevent the world from falling into the nuclear abyss. This is served by our alliance's comprehensive and peaceful initiatives presented in Sofia in October 1985.

At the last meeting of the foreign ministers committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Poland's capital last March, we once again put forth extensive and realistic proposals on how to curb the arms race, improve the international climate, and return to the policy of detente.

A special chance for all the nations of the world, M. Orzechowski stressed, is created by the program, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in January 1986, of totally eliminating all nuclear and chemical weapon arsenals by the year 2000 and banning offensive space weapons. This is the first such comprehensive and feasible proposal on ending the arms race and averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe with incalculable effects. This is a long-term objective. Its fulfillment may be encouraged by secondary measures, such as the conclusion of agreements between the Soviet Union and United States on the removal of American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

We believe that for us Europeans, the performance of this task is particularly important from the point of view of the supreme requirement to preserve peace and reduce tension on our continent. Guided by this, Poland supports the concept of nuclear-free zones and zones free of chemical weapons in Europe. We are unchangingly in favor of continuing and consolidating the CSCE process and permitting the expansion and enhancement of cooperation between the European states.

The great powers bear particular responsibility for maintaining peace and international security. However, we believe that Poland and the FRG, aware of their responsibility for the fate of their peoples and our continent, may and should also do everything they can to turn into reality the currently emerging chance of making Europe a safe continent and an area of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We believe that the way to do this, apart from constructive activity on the international stage, is to develop relations between our states. These have always possessed and still possess an important all-European dimension. We recently celebrated the 15th anniversary of the historic treaty of 7 December 1970. We fully appreciate the normalization achieved since then, which can be felt not only in bilateral relations, but also by our whole societies and by individuals. We know at the same time that this process could be considerably quicker and its results greater. The process still contains a number of issues that are arousing our concern and awaiting solution.

On behalf of the PPR Government, I wish to reaffirm our desire and readiness to consistently and successfully shape partnerlike relations with the FRG on the basis of a respect and implementation of our joint treaty. For the



start of the normalization process was a strategic decision for Poland, made for the sake of our country and people, but also for the sake of our continent. As far as relations with the FRG are concerned, there is complete accord among Polish society.

For Poland, the treaty of 7 December 1970 and its recognition of our country's western border, remains the basis for bilateral relations. Its terms in this regard are sufficiently clear. That is why for the Polish Government and people, the chief yardstick of FRG politics is and will remain respect for the terms of the treaty and the inviolability of the Odra-Nysa border, which should also be treated as an integral part of the postwar European territorial political order whose durability of over 40 years standing is an essential prerequisite and basis for peace on our continent.

We regard the speeches by FRG Government and party representatives, including you, Mr Minister, about the importance of the treaty, a respect for the territorial integrity of Poland and the other European states within their present borders, the FRG's discontinuation of territorial claims, and an aim to develop relations with Poland, as important for the creation of the proper political climate in our relations.

We know that this view is shared by the firm majority of West German society which is no doubt interested in peaceful, constructive relations just as our society is. We hope that this very approach, based on feasible conditions and taking into account the real needs of the normalization process, will be the guideline of the policy and practical activity of the FRG's government and political forces toward Poland. The point is also that our mutual relations should not be negatively influenced by circles that continue to question the terms of the treaty or interpret it in a way that clashes with its letter and spirit.

We are ready to constructively develop relations with the FRG, remove the standstill, and intensify cooperation. We deeply believe that our efforts and concrete proposals will encounter a positive reaction in the Federal Republic.

I think that today, 15 years after the signing of the treaty, the citizens of our states and European public opinion are expecting concrete actions which will prove the desire of the political forces in our countries to make progress in various spheres of our relations. A review of these relations clearly shows that great possibilities of development exist practically everywhere. At the same time, there is still a series of issues that require settlement.

Economic cooperation occupies a special place in our relations. Its state and prospects have a considerable bearing on development possibilities in other spheres as well. We believe that this cooperation may and should animate the normalization process.

We expect that the declared readiness of the FRG Government and economic quarters to develop economic relations, as expressed during the recent Bonn visit by the Polish deputy premier Zbigniew Szalajda, will be followed by concrete steps to create more favorable conditions for an expansion of trade and industrial cooperation.

#### Commentary Assesses Visit

AU201809 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 86 p 7

[Daniel Lulinski commentary: "An Improvement in the Climate of Dialogue"]

[Text] The official visit paid by the PPR minister of foreign affairs to the land of the Rhine and his talks with leading FRG politicians have confirmed that full political dialogue between Bonn and Warsaw has resumed and that this dialogue has been imbued with a new quality through the simultaneous declaration of the intent to continue the process of normalization initiated by the historic 1970 treaty.

The treaty is the sole cornerstone of the process of normalization, and the attitude of the FRG to the letter and spirit of the treaty is and will remain the main criterion for assessing Bonn's policies with regard to Poland and European security.

The purpose of Minister Orzechowski's visit was to assess the course of relations to date, and to consider those obstacles and barriers which have resulted in a standstill and even a regression in relations, especially during the last 5 years. The aim of the talks was to "clear the ground," to define prospects for improving the state of relations, and to endow these relations with a new and constructive impetus.

Viewing the results produced by the visit, one can say that it was useful and fruitful, and that it confirmed that both sides recognize that an improvement in mutual relations is of more than purely bilateral significance, that it is of general European importance in terms of invigorating relations between East and West.

And that is also why the West German side accorded the Polish visit a high political and protocol status. The Polish minister of foreign affairs conducted talks with the federal president, the chancellor, the leader of the Bundestag, and with the leaders of all the parties represented in the parliament and with the leadership of the German Communist Party.

In striving toward a full normalization of relations with the FRG, Poland cannot close its eyes to attempts--frequently official attempts--to conduct a revisionist interpretation of the 1970 treaty and in particular to attempts

to question the final character of Europe's borders. These actions were accompanied by attempts to interfere in our internal affairs and to block economic and political cooperation. At the present time responsible political circles in the FRG are advocating the abandonment of such conduct, which caused a regression in relations and a failure to make use of opportunities for developing relations with Poland.

During the Bonn talks the Polish side expressed the hope that the current more realistic position of the FRG government would not be the subject of renewed vacillation and fluctuations dictated by circumstance, by the election campaign for example.

The extreme right in the FRG and nationalist forces are openly attacking the minister of foreign affairs, H.D. Genscher, for declaring that the FRG recognizes that European peace is based on the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states within their existing borders.

Minister Genscher also added that "we have no territorial claims nor will we have any, neither today nor tomorrow."

Taking note of these declarations made before the head of the Polish diplomatic corps in Bonn, one can express the hope that the FRG Government will be guided by these statements in the conduct of its policy and actions with regard to our state. This would also accord with the views of the majority of FRG society, who--as public opinion polls have confirmed--are opposed to questioning the Odra-Hysa border.

A series of interesting preliminary initiatives in the sphere of economic cooperation and the normalization of financial and credit relations have been undertaken recently. However, the FRG ought to adopt a more active approach to an issue that ought to be a factor invigorating the whole process of normalization. Our authorities will examine individual humanitarian cases in a generous manner, but the FRG ought to understand that the PPR is not a country providing economic immigrants.

It was stated during the talks that both states have a significant role to play in their respective alliances and that they should do all they can to translate into reality the recently emerged opportunities for making Europe a continent of peaceful cooperation and security. Warsaw and Bonn are for a successful outcome to the talks in Vienna and Stockholm and for the continuation of the CSCE process.

Minister Orzechowski is the head of the diplomatic corps of a country which recently hosted a meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of Warsaw Pact Member-States, and that is why he set out the unanimous and critical position of our states on the issue of American plans to place weapons in space, the so-called "star wars" project. These plans pose a great danger to all mankind.

Under these circumstances the FRG government's decision to accept--and this is considered a very controversial decision on the banks of the Rhine--U.S. plans to place weapons in space and its announcement that it intends to participate in the "star wars" program undermines the credibility of Bonn's policies and provokes disquiet in Poland.

This must have an effect on the state of relations between the FRG and the socialist states, as has been recently stressed in Moscow and Berlin. This is "the hour of truth" for FRG political intentions.

Poland has reaffirmed its readiness to undertake the constructive development of relations with the FRG in all areas. After the Bonn talks, the Polish foreign minister cannot talk about some fundamental turningpoint in the overall form of mutual relations but about an improvement in the climate of dialogue.

Given good will and a constructive approach on the part of both sides, this improvement creates an opportunity for beginning a new period in relations.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# WRITERS CONGRESS' SENSITIVE ISSUES VIEWED

AU280746 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 9 Mar 86 p 7

[Jan Marszalek article: "Scraps of Information" "From the Minutes"]

[Excerpts] During the Second Congress of the Union of Polish Writers in Warsaw on 25-26 February 1986 (guests and journalists were not admitted to the 26 February session) the following problems were discussed by writers and patrons of the arts:

## Sociocultural Policy in the Past Few Years

The congress characterized this policy in terms of Poland and the world and in terms of the Union of Polish Writers. The forces hostile to the Polish *raison d'etat* have sought and continue to seek our economic and cultural destabilization. This was the reason for drastic measures against the creative communities that in many cases had sought the self-destruction of the Polish state. However, no country can afford self-destruction, nor can People's Poland. Despite the antagonisms, prejudices, and mutual accusations that have escalated in the eighties, efforts are being made "to democratize culture," "to propagate our cultural heritage," and "to give priority to the values" that reinforce and not damage the fabric of the state and ideology. One such value is books, which represent "that indispensable feature of artistic creativity without which other efforts are useless." (Professor Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art). The writers who try to undermine and even destroy the structure of the Polish state may look in vain for models of such destruction in Polish history because even the romanticists "put repartition Poland back on the map." (H. Auderska)

Professor of sociology K. Zygulski, who as minister of culture and art was obliged in the course of duty to maintain contacts with the communities of intellectuals, gave this definition of one: "Ability to destroy everything, including himself, is one of the characteristics of the Polish intellectual." This definition is all the more interesting since it is based on first-hand observations. However, these destructive abilities are not wholly destructive because "at decisive moments some writers have continued to build instead of destroy things, although people averse to them and to us have done a great deal to make their lives difficult." (Professor

Marian Stepień) If these two statements assert the facts, the following statements try to tell us why it is that the ideas that help to disintegrate the Polish state have their supporters in the artistic communities. Andrzej Lam pointed to the crux of the matter. When in the eighties he found himself in the FRG and when "the foundations of Polish existence were being threatened, a famous Polish writer continued to describe Poland as one large place of terror. I was very sorry. A frontal attack against one's own country" provided satisfaction for the revanchist forces. Although Lam was in the FRG some years ago, the attitude of the influential pangermanic forces toward Poland has not improved. On the contrary it has deteriorated as attested to by Lichniak. He returned from West Berlin not so long ago, shaken to the bones by what he experienced: a long-term and carefully planned anti-Polish campaign beginning with Monsieur [French word used] Lanzman, a smart fellow who knew where to go to make a mass of money, through FRG schoolbooks and maps. People who have left Poland are also being used for anti-Polish activities. Lichniak cited an intellectual who had spent all his life in Poland, but who, when asked by a German journalist whether he longed for his fatherland, replied "You can live everywhere as a human being" and added that he had come to West Berlin to look after his father's interests. Lichniak was intrigued by this enigmatic statement and thought that perhaps, in his own case, Poland is the addiction he suffers from. "But," he said, "militant forces continue to slander our reputation, but this can be countered by asserting our own collective and individual selves." Lech Konopinski thinks that this hostility to the Polish *raison d'etat* is a result of the fact that "many of our colleagues refuse to recognize that their awareness is being affected by the awareness of other people"--of the people whose own interests and not Poland's interests are their overriding goal. Still, we should realize that our great artists, including writers, have never regarded Western (Mediterranean) culture as a golden calf before which one has to fall on one's knees. On the contrary, our truly brilliant creative people, beginning with Rej through Grochowiak, have always suffered from the addiction called Poland. "Discussing these people means discussing the Polish state and nation." (Zygmunt Wojcik) On the other hand, in People's Poland, that is, in the Poland in which one's overriding goal should be to revoke our traditions and those of our neighbors, "literary criticism looks spellbound toward Western culture and negates the culture of our neighbors." (Janaszek-Ivaniczewa) And yet criticism is the instrument that helps literature on its way. The uncritical response to Western traditions and the fact that our own neighbors are being ignored are responsible for the continued disappearance of our collective and individual ethos. That is why its reconstruction is "an enormous task" for artists and decision-makers.

#### The Role of Literature in Social Life

In most general terms, literature should integrate and not antagonize, link and not divide, and seek peace and not make one insensitive to war. It should boost "civic awareness" (Rogowski), "spread the truth and describe the fates of Poles and Poland" (Lichniak), "seek to eliminate war dangers and warn against attempts to disintegrate our state from within" (Jozef Ozga-Michalski), "propagate the knowledge about other cultures and peoples"

(Ivaniczkowa), and "foster individuality." (Rusinek) Integrating and not antagonizing literature and art, which link people instead of dividing them, should oppose the works that are socially and individually "destructive" and seek to intensify the antagonisms between individual occupational and social groups. "It is in this context that old utopias continued to be raised, namely, that writers are not dependent on their communities and that they profess only universal values. But the fact is that it is through the language that writers are most closely bound with their nation. I think that this congress has reaffirmed this fact." (The minister of culture and art)

#### The Tasks of the Union of Polish Writers Vis-a-vis Its Members and Those Writers Who Are Not Members

I have written about the aims of the union and would now like to discuss those writers who are not union members. The writer Jan Himilbsbach asked at the meeting of the union's Warsaw branch: "What have we done to ensure that our colleagues who are not union members have been admitted to this meeting? This is probably the touchiest problem of the literary community and perhaps it would be better to ignore it, but ignoring it does not at all mean that it does not exist. This problem exists and is quite urgent. It involves many contradictory personal and group ambitions and interests, which are not necessarily political in character." "The greater one's personality, the more reason for being at odds with our union." (Przymanowski) "Everything must be done to prevent a renewal of antagonisms in our community." (Kijonka) What Przymanowski has said means that whenever outstanding personalities get together--and such personalities are members of the union--conflicts are bound to ensue. Probably they have already ensued if Kijonka has warned against a renewal of antagonisms within the writers' community. The results of elections to union branches and to the congress delegations speak for themselves. New guards have been mounted, and Andrzej Twerdochlib referred to this when he said: "People with great experience in union work have been eliminated." However, coming back to the question posed by J. Himilbsbach: "What have we done to ensure that our colleagues who are not union members have been admitted to this meeting?" Actually every participant in the discussion from Auderska through Professor Zygulski aired his or her views on this issue. The upshot of these views is that any creative person may join the union regardless of his world outlook, provided he does not question the PPR Constitution. The Union of Polish Writers is an open organization! "It would therefore be a good thing that all those who have gone astray rejoin our community. But we need to employ tolerance, our national virtue, on both sides! Individuals have the right to engage in polemics." (Rusinek) "The Union of Polish Writers will be neither a closed sect nor an instrument of manipulation as some people suggest. We reject no one, provided one does not violate the PPR Constitution. Our union is wide open, but we will force no one to join it." (Rogowski) "We must win back as many colleagues as possible, including Rozewicz, Lem, Mysliwski, Nowak, and others!" (Kijonka) "The qualifying commission has examined 31 applications for admission from former union members and has rejected none. Our union is an open organization." (Safjan)

## Attacks Against the Union of Polish Writers

Some widely read and influential weeklies started a hysterical campaign, following the publication of the results of elections of branch authorities and of congress delegates. The aim of this campaign has been to discredit the entire union. Krzysztof Gasiorowski, chairman of the Warsaw branch of the union, said this in this connection: "I am intrigued by the sources of these attacks. But we have no organ! There is no way for us to respond to insinuations!" Zygmunt Wojcik, secretary of the primary party organization of the Warsaw branch of the union, made a similar statement: "What POLITYKA did publish has shocked our community. I share this shock. If POLITYKA sees extreme leftists [lewak] in our union, it would be better for it to look in the other direction." Advising calm and prudence, Wieslaw Rogowski said: "Let us not be rolled over by the opposition, which debases us, and by those who put their ambitions over and above the prestige of our union for the very reason that they are unable to play in the union the role that would match their arrogance."

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POLITICS

POLAND

ARMED FORCES POLITICAL AKTIV DISCUSSES TASKS

AU010730 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] The 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the tasks stemming from it for party cells and organizations in the Armed Forces were the subject of meeting between a participant in the plenary session, Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces, and military and party aktivs of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces and institutions subordinated to it: The meeting, which took place on 17 March, was also attended by first secretaries of PZPR committees at military academies.

Speaking about the course and results of the 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Rear Admiral Dutkowski said that last week's plenary session represented an exceptionally important stage in the pregress campaign. The subject matter under discussion at the 2-day session attested to its importance. The plenum examined the draft congress theses, evaluated the course of the congress campaign to date, and conducted a examination of certain issues pertaining to cadre policy. Much attention was also devoted to the conclusions stemming from the 27th CPSU Congress.

Referring to the resolution adopted at the PZPR Central Committee plenum which submits the PZPR Central Committee theses for party and public discussion, the first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces stressed that the theses constitute a development of the PZPR program assumptions for the years 1986-90 and set out the goals of national development, as well as the paths and conditions leading to their realization.

A public debate on the theses, which are entitled "We are Strengthening the Socialist Foundations of a Secure and Efficient Poland; a Modern and Lawful Poland" will take place. There will be no shortage of views coming from the military community, emphasized Rear Admiral Dutkowski. Members of the party in uniform and party organizations and cells in the Armed Forces have a duty to be particularly active in organizing discussion on the theses, to make a creative contribution to discussion, and to involve the broadest possible range of social groups in discussion of the theses.

At the close of the meeting the first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces set out military and party activities connected with introducing the results of the 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum into military life and military training. He also set tasks aimed at increasing the contribution made by troops to strengthening Poland's socialist foundations.

/12858

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POLITICS

POLAND

## USING DRAFT PZPR PROGRAM TO SHAPE SOCIAL AWARENESS

AU041522 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 19 Mar 86 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska article: "Making a Choice for the Coming Years"]

[Excerpts] The present version of the party draft program devotes a separate subchapter to the tasks of the mass media and regards the openness of public life and the freedom to express one's thoughts as elements of socialist democracy. What I miss is an accurate presentation of at least two more elements. First, that the party safeguards a free access to all kinds of information that are not state secrets and, second, that the party will continue to demand that press criticism be honestly responded to. Both these elements are among the fundamental component parts of political culture and are prerequisites for meaningful journalistic work.

The party congress always looks at the past and at the future. This time the congress will look exceptionally far into the future because this is what the party draft program stipulates. However, the point from which the look at the past and at the future is taken is always the present--the current economic, social, and international situation. Without soberly analyzing the present, it is difficult to objectively evaluate the past and to reliably program the future. Journalists are primarily interested in social awareness and address all their efforts to it because it maps out the scope and nature of their work and because, in the final reckoning, they want to transform it. It is beyond my powers to evaluate the current state of social awareness and to cite the "indexes of optimism," which are so popular now and which have been so industriously collated by Colonel Kwiatkowski's Public Opinion Poll Center. Please forgive me if I make my personal assessment of social awareness.

The basic barrier we have to break through is most people's lack of faith in the fact that man--a group or community of men--is able to really influence the present and the future and that the plans drawn up under the party's auspices are implementable. This is probably no place to speculate why this is so and how far this is a result of the actions of our political adversaries and of our own old and not so old errors. What is essential is that this mood is an expression of people's distrust in their own strength and of their capitulation. This is precisely the opposite of the stereotyped view we cultivate about ourselves. What an ugly paradox!

Let us not delude ourselves that the party is free of such doubts either. It is not. After all, it is a part of our community. Wojciech Jaruzelski's appeal that we should make feasible that which is necessary is an offensive response to the moods of frustration. However, I do not know whether we fully realize how differentiated and widely interpretable our ideas are about what is necessary. These differences run across all the sections, age groups, and beliefs of our society, which means that what we need is some social agreement on this score. I think that precisely the pregress discussion could help us to reach such an accord under the condition that the discussion is sufficiently extensive, candid, and well reasoned.

As I see it, the special duty of propaganda, including the mass media, is to negotiate with our society the goals that should be regarded as necessary in the coming 5-year period and, without any beating about the bush, to lay bare all the conditions that must be fulfilled if our goals are to be feasible. It is no accident that I stress the words "without beating about the bush." The principle of "something for something" is perhaps brutal, but it is a true and tested principle, one which everyone of us has learned by experience!

We have frequently heard in recent weeks that modest goals will not sweep our people off their feet, especially our young people. My contention is that visions divorced from reality have now even less chance of sweeping our people off their feet. The results of our economic crisis have switched from acuteness to chronicity, which is simply a dangerous condition. According to my observations, for the first time the people from outside the groups of pensioners and the economically weakest sections of society have become aware in the past 12 months or so, of dangers threatening their social security. This is no joke. This is a serious signal. This may seem to be strange or not strange, but this sense of danger was absent when we really touched the bottom of our crisis. This sense was produced when we began to regard the following situation of ours as permanent: There is enough money and goods and there is no absolute shortage of anything, but what we have is not as abundant and does not arrive quickly and plentifully enough to let us sleep peacefully.

The more cautious people warned us 3-4 years ago that we must not get used to the crisis! Unfortunately, human nature has prevailed and has shown its ability to adapt. We must overcome this ability because this kind of adaptation degrades man and society. To be sure, if we regarded in earnest the alleged religious renaissance in our country, the principle that "God afflicts whom He loves" should be our protective shield in this connection, but apparently this renaissance is not strong enough.

From what I have said so far I do not at all propose that it is necessary to promote defensive and soft propaganda. On the contrary, I am convinced that we should attack offensively and sharply the present state of social awareness. However, since we know what this state is we should wage this offensive seriously and, which is most important, without any trace of demagogy. Triumphal exaltation can raise the spirits of only those who practice exaltation, which at the most gets on other people's nerves and makes them ridicule it.

There is an abundance of good and very good propaganda material in the party draft program and primarily in the experience of the past 5 years. Promoting this material in accord and not in conflict with the pulse of social awareness is an opportunity for transforming this awareness, for freeing it from the shackles of frustration, and for organizing meaningful social efforts.

Let us take just one example. If all the legally created and revamped institutions of social democracy--from self-government bodies of inhabitants through the people's councils--fully used their powers and fully discharged their statutory duties we would not be living in a truly different, more equitable, more friendly, and worthier country. However, the research carried out by the State Council last year demonstrated that the people's councils use on the average only some 30 percent of their powers! We should publicize this fact at every step every day without thinking how Radio Free Europe may react to this. The failure to fully use powers is not a demonstration of renewal; it is a demonstration of the continued lack of faith in the endurance of renewal.

We could tax the present draft of the party program with many faults. We could find fault with its length, its generalizations about some issues, and the airtight inaccessibility of its language. However, although it does so roughly, the program makes it possible to answer the question of what the communists want Poland to be and what they propose to the people as the choice for the coming years. This is more than peanuts. Actually, under our conditions, this is a great deal indeed.

/12858

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POLITICS

POLAND

PAPER REPORTS ON GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM MEETING

AU040806 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The Government Press Office reports that the Government Presidium met on 24 March. The presidium acquainted itself with the supply of goods to the market in the first quarter of this year.

The supply of foodstuffs to the market has become stabilized. In January the supply of most items satisfied needs and preserved equilibrium between supply and demand. In view of the winter holiday period, an additional 1,000 metric tonnes of meat were allocated for supplies to winter resorts. Favorable trends in the purchase of animals for slaughter, increased meat production, and high levels of stocks created conditions for improving the supply of meat to the population.

Despite increased demand, comparatively large stocks of sugar in the trade sector made it possible to fully satisfy needs. Although there has been an improvement in the supply of non-foodstuff items, there continue to be shortages in certain areas, particularly in the supply of building materials. There are also strains in the supply of coal, although the supply of coal to the market amounted to 6.4 million metric tonnes and will be 30 percent higher than in the first quarter of last year. There are also difficulties in the domestic trade transportation system. The amount and quality of rolling stock is deteriorating. Transportation capacity is declining while needs in this area are growing.

The Government Presidium acquainted itself with information provided by the Supreme Chamber of Control on the results produced by a control on the realization of production plans for durable goods allocated for supply to the market, and on organizations which trade in these products.

The control covered 35 enterprises that come under the ministries of metallurgy and engineering and 130 shops in 15 voivodships and the stores supplying them.

The control revealed that the fundamental cause of the limited production and supply of durable goods was in many cases the inappropriate functioning of cooperative ties between enterprises. Opportunities for expanding production of goods for the domestic market by creating enterprise economic

teams were not exploited to a satisfactory degree. There was also a failure to observe the obligation to supply spare parts for goods.

The next point on the agenda was a report on the state of agriculture and the food economy in 1985 presented by the minister of agriculture, forestry, and the food economy.

Positive agricultural production processes took shape and became consolidated during the period 1983-85. A consistent agricultural policy, the large number of economic and organizational solutions, and an improvement in the supply of capital goods made it possible to attain a significant increase in agricultural output.

An average 7.3 percent increase in final agricultural production over the period 1981-82 was recorded. Net agricultural output increased by 16.8 percent. An increase as significant as this was largely due to improved management and a reduction of 13.4 percent in production material-intensiveness. During the period 1983-85 net agricultural output increased at an average annual rate of 4.9 percent. A high increase in the socialized sector production rate was recorded, particularly in state farms (a 27.2 percent increase).

There was a significant improvement in the supply of feeds and agricultural machinery and equipment over the last 3-year period. However, many critical observations have been made concerning the quality of capital goods and the supply of spare parts. Last year there was a reduction in the supply of mineral-based fertilizers and plant preservation substances.

Positive trends in the structure of agriculture characterized 1985. An increase in the average area of land cultivated by private farmers was recorded. The negative trade-balance in agricultural products and foodstuffs was significantly reduced in the final year of the 3-year plan.

The Government Presidium acquainted itself with information concerning the degree to which tasks in the field of safety and hygiene in private farming had been executed. Activity in this field primarily concerns improving medical and social care for rural inhabitants; supplying farmers with protective shoes, clothing and equipment; and increasing knowledge of safety regulations. The actions in this area undertaken in most voivodships produced few results.

The Government Presidium recommended creating public work inspectors within the framework of the National Farmers' Union and the Agricultural Circles and Organizations. These inspectors would supervise hygiene and safety in private agriculture and provide advice. Regional organs of the state administration will draw up detailed schedules of tasks for improving working conditions in this sector of agriculture.

/12858

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POLITICS

POLAND

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEW ON SEJM, PUBLIC ATTITUDES

AU311537 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSAWY in Polish 26 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview given by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Sejm vice marshal, to Ryszarda Kazimierska--date and place not given]

[Text] [Kazimierska] It took a long time to persuade you to speak to the press. The new Sejm marshal, Roman Malinowski, as well as the new vice marshals, Jadwiga Biedrzycka and Marek Wieczorek, have already given interviews, but you have not. Why is this so?

[Rakowski] It will not be far from the truth if I say that I wanted some time to get acquainted with my new area of activity. But there were also other reasons. I also needed time for reflection because this type of work is indeed different from work in the government, it opens up a new area of experience. I also had to assess the past years, establish what were achievements, and what were weaknesses, and defeats. In a word, I needed a break, and to catch my breath after the pace of events in recent years.

[Kazimierska] This is not, however, your first term of office as a deputy?

[Rakowski] Yes, that is true. I have experience as a deputy but the post of vice marshal has a somewhat different character than that of deputy, which does not require one to be always present in the Sejm building, to take part in the work of the presidium, the Council of Elder Statesmen, to receive visitors.

[Kazimierska] You have been in this post for five months now. And so you already have a certain amount of experience.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Kazimierska] And of course the Socioeconomic Council which you chair has been set up.

[Rakowski] And the first meeting of the Council has taken place. After the meeting I obtained the opinions of several dozen members of the Council. It seems to me that there is no doubt that the Council constitutes a team



of experienced people who have a great sense of responsibility and are familiar with the main problems facing our state. I think the Council will constitute a team of people who think critically, who have opinions of their own, and not just on matters of general nature, but also on the functioning of state and self-management institutions and on those who implement social and economic policy.

[Kazimierska] At the first meeting of the Council you announced that you would like members of the government to inform the Council about certain questions and issues of the day.

[Rakowski] You see, I would like the members of the Council to obtain the information that is required by every person who deserves to be called a social activist. And so I would like to assist the members of the Council in the process--if it can be described in this way--of becoming an activist of standing in a given milieu. It is simply a matter of being able to say at the end of the Council's term that it has not only carried out its tasks with regard to affairs directed to it by the Sejm presidium but that the country has also gained a group of social activists and politicians who have more knowledge and experience of all matters concerning the state than they had when they began their work for the Council. I think that by answering your question in this way I am not belittling the worth which the members of the Council have already brought to it.

[Kazimierska] One heard various opinions expressed when the Eighth Sejm created the first Council. In addition to the supporters of the Council there was no shortage of those who opposed the idea of the Sejm setting up a new opinion-making and advisory organ attached to the Sejm. And nowadays there are certain people who advance serious arguments against the existence of the Council.

[Rakowski] I regard various opinions on the subject of the Council along with the question of whether it is necessary as being valuable from the point of view of strengthening and developing democratic relations.

[Kazimierska] Certain people say that we have many different consultative bodies, permanent as well as temporary commissions, and is it not the case that we are dealing with institution inflation or the formalization of social consultations and the system of advisory bodies.

[Rakowski] There is no need to be worried by the great number of institutions of a social kind which enable politically active citizens not only to speak out on the subject of state policy but to influence its content directly. Every social institution, and the council is such an institution, realizes and enhances the idea contained in a socialist system of not just formal but genuine people's power. We do not have too many consultative, opinion-issuing, and initiating bodies yet: We do, however, lack an active attitude toward problems which our country must tackle, needs which are of the order of national interests. I believe that an

inflation of this type of body has not so far occurred but one must remember the danger inherent in a formalization of the consultative process.

[Kazimierska] You say "we lack an active attitude toward problems." Do people not possess such aspirations?

[Rakowski] Perhaps I will explain what I meant. In my view, and not only in my view, society is entertaining increasingly greater hopes of direct participation in the formation of a socialist state's politics. These hopes should be noticed not only today, but also during future planning. Of the reasons why these hopes should be treated seriously, I wish to point out one that is particularly important. Its roots lie in the growing number of citizens possessing secondary and higher education and in the drastic expansion of the mass media, especially television. If we only compare two figures--40,000 people with higher education in 1945 and 1,200,000 with the same education in 1985--and add to this the 6 million citizens with secondary, general, or vocational education and training, we will then receive an answer to the question why it is essential to have institutions which permit citizens to directly influence state social and economic policy. The point is that an educated society is not and will not be likely to actively support a policy on which it feels it has no influence. When planning for the future, one must realize that the number of people who are educated, know about the world, and possess their own opinion on party and state policy and on the activity of leadership groups will grow, and thus the aforementioned institutions must also grow and strengthen. If the Socioeconomic Council adds to this process during its term of office, this I believe will be a cause of justified satisfaction.

[Kazimierska] You said during the Council's first session that the number of people interested in politics is growing. What do you mean?

[Rakowski] As a result of the changes in our country during the past 5-year period, our society is considerably more politically aware than, for example, in the seventies. However, we can no longer equate its level of politicization with its energy in public life. The experience we have accumulated tells us that considerable sections of society are interested in what is happening in state politics, often to their own advantage. In fact, no important political, economic, and social decision fails to cause comment, and every important political speech leads to discussion and arouses emotions. From the numerous pre-election meetings, we gained a valuable picture of the degree to which citizens are interested in the work of the authorities. We had an opportunity to convince ourselves that almost every step we make is carefully watched. Decisions that are premeditated, appropriate, and in conformity with common sense meet with society's acceptance. On the other hand, every slip of the authorities, every case of arrogance and soullessness, is carefully noted. There is no doubt that everyone inside the authorities, whatever the level, is under careful observation by millions of our countrymen.

There are several reasons why our society has become more politically aware during the past 5-year period. Without analyzing attitudes and behavior, it ought to be said that the 1980-81 events played a large role in this process. We remember halls in which long, sharp, and often heated discussions took place. And even if the wave of feverish activity has subdued since 13 December 1981, the subsequent years have proved that the politicization of society is already a permanent phenomenon with great social consequences. The party and its allies have taken this into consideration. Institutions have been created which permit working people and various milieus to express their needs and air their views on state politics. Meeting the changes in society's consciousness halfway, the country's political and state leadership has made serious amendments to the style of governing at various levels. Public life has become considerably more open, expressed in the popular saying about government behind an open curtain. Social consultations and press conferences by the government spokesman have become a permanent feature of political life. They supply public opinion with much information which extends its knowledge on the state of the country, government policy, and so on. The Public Opinion Research Center has been established. It plays a very important role in informing society and the state about the views and attitudes of Poles concerning many important socioeconomic problems in the life of the country. Qualitatively new features appeared in the work of the Sejm already during its eighth term of office.

[Kazimierska] That is the term of office that saw the creation of the first Sejm Socioeconomic Council. Why has the Ninth Sejm appointed a new Council to last only during the present term of office? Why has the Council not been made a permanent part of sociopolitical practice?

[Rakowski] I think the Sejm acted correctly when it determined that the Council should last only for one term of office. In order to permanently include it in the constitutional order of the PPR, it is necessary to gather experience. The temporary nature of the Council should be viewed in a broader context, in other words in the light of the changes taking place to our representative bodies and the various types of institutions meant to make the idea of people's rule real. I do not believe the final word has been said in this matter. The draft PZPR program also discusses this. The socialist world is pervaded with the spirit of changes. New impulses have come from Moscow--I mean the 27th CPSU Congress. And that is why the aforementioned temporariness should be regarded as a part of the creative searches being made.

/12858

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POLITICS

POLAND

PRC PHYSICIST INTERVIEWED ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

AU041611 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Mar 86 p 6

[Interview given by PRC nuclear physicist Professor Zhou Peiyuan to Mariusz Dastych: "I Am an Optimist"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Dastych] Your biography states that you have been a scientist for 50 years and have been committed to peace and control of armament, especially nuclear armament....

[Peiyuan] For over 50 years I have studied theoretical physics and have lectured on the physics of turbulence at the Polish Academy of Sciences this year. I am planning to go to Warsaw again to lecture and to meet with Polish scientists. In 1957 I attended the first Pugwash conference in Pugwash in Nova Scotia. I actively participated in the Pugwash movement and in international scientific meetings until 1960. For 25 years there was a break in these contacts. Now I have returned to these activities as an old man.

[Dastych] What was the reason for this "break," as you say?

[Peiyuan] This was how the political conditions developed in China.

[Dastych] In view of the fact that the dangers threatening the world are still there, do you believe that disarmament is possible and that mankind can be saved from a nuclear war?

[Peiyuan] I am an optimist and this is my private view. For example, from the very beginning I kept believing that the Soviet-American summit in Geneva must produce positive results. What is more, for over 25 years I have proclaimed that nuclear war is impossible and unnecessary and that no one will be bold enough to unleash it in view of its destructiveness. After all, the two superpowers, which are in charge of over 95 percent of the potential of nuclear weapons, know that nuclear war will annihilate the whole of civilization.

I do not believe that nuclear war is inevitable. No armed conflict since the last world war has been waged with nuclear weapons, because there can be no victor in such a war. That is why we may and should speak of a threat

of nuclear war, a real threat, but a threat that is a typical political bluff.

[Dastych] Let me cite a different view, one that has an extensive circulation in the world: The threat of nuclear war also continues to increase because modern nuclear weapons have a restricted range of effectiveness and radiation and can be miniaturized. This makes it possible to use nuclear weapons for tactical purposes without unleashing a general catastrophe.

[Peiyuan] I am a physicist and not a military expert, and that is why I do not want to discuss tactical nuclear weapons. My thesis is that nuclear war is now out of the question. It was also an absurdity in 1945 when the Americans dropped the first nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These blasts had no justification except for a political demonstration of force. When the atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities, Japan was on the line of capitulation. The Japanese had no chance to be victorious. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were tragic mistakes! They were mistakes because nuclear weapons alone will not enforce a victory if we assume that a nuclear war will leave no victors behind...

[Dastych] What is China's position on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the "star wars" or the SDI program?

[Peiyuan] The PRC is decidedly against the two issues--against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and against introducing them into outer space. In China we also continue research into the possible effects of nuclear weapons, including the theory of the "nuclear winter." As for the SDI, we take the view that both the U.S. project and the possible Soviet counterproject regarding space weapons and defense systems backed up by the use of nuclear weapons in space should be given up.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

URBAN PREFACES EXCERPTS FROM LAMPOON

AU122045 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish on 29 March on pages 4-10 carries a 400-word Jerzy Urban preface to 8,500-word excerpts selected by him from an underground lampoon directed at him. The preface reads as follows:

"The text I have submitted to POLITYKA for publication is not a literary parody or fiction concocted for April Fool's Day. This text consists of extensive excerpts from a short novel which contains a list of explanations, which is entitled 'The Dying and the Resurrected,' and which carries the subtitle of 'Modern Apocrypha.' Aleksy Dalcz is the author, but this name is certainly a pseudonym. The novel was published by one of the illegal publishing organizations. It calls itself 'AZYL Publications.' The footnote 'Warsaw 1985, Copyright by Aleksy Dalcz and AZYL Publications' indicates that the author expects his book to be translated into the world languages. The book costs Z300."

"In 1982-83 groups of creative people regarding themselves as oppositionists published a program for taking all Polish culture into self-retirement or into the underground. The excerpts I have selected from Dalcz's book are perhaps of extreme character, but they are still representative of the themes and political line of the culture that has been taken into the underground. By publishing in POLITYKA an example of the literature of the so-called secondary circulation I propose to legalize this literature so that POLITYKA readers are able to acquire an idea of what subjects the illegal publishing organizations deal with and what kinds of writing are involved when the press reports that investigations have been completed against such and such a person in connection with publishing and circulating such writings."

"It is probable that Aleksy Dalcz will receive a high decoration in the West and that Radio Free Europe will call him a hope of Polish literature. On the other hand, if he is charged with violating the law on publications, Western politicians and writers will defend him, although they never read the works of the authors they defend. All they are aware of is that they must support all the people who are against the regime and that this is called defending freedom of speech and freedom of writers."

"Anticipating these pleasant events in store for Mr Dalcz, I submit for the readers' judgment one of the most recent works of the so-called independent literature."

"My selections account for about one-quarter of the entire novel and provide an ample idea of what this novel really is. I have selected these excerpts and asked POLITYKA to publish them because the main hero of Dalcz's book is one Jerzy Tyran, the radio-television plenipotentiary of the Supreme Administration. Tyran [tyrant in English] is a 50-year-old fat and bald man with protruding ears. This is precisely why I am interested in this book."

"The illustrations have been taken from the illegal edition of the novel entitled 'The Dying and the Resurrected,' but the subheads have been devised by me so that readers may not confuse the heroes of the book."

Signed: Jerzy Urban.

The following random passages from the excerpts show what the book is all about:

"Jerzy Tyran, the radio-television plenipotentiary of the Supreme Administration, gazed sadly into a mirror. Unfortunately, although he has lived almost 50 years, during which he should have succumbed to the soothing action of habit, what he saw produced again a strangely mixed feeling of frustration and masochism, despite the fact that he has had undoubted successes in his life, successes that are supposed to be at least as gratifying as are sexual potency and an inborn personal charm taken together."

"The disaster was made worse by his head, which was shaped as artificially as the pointier end of an egg. His face reminded one of a mug of a dwarf clumsily scrawled by a child."

"For the casual observer the funniest part of his head has always been the ears. Nature attached them to his head wholly at right angles to his cheeks and used in its generosity so much material for them that it could have been enough for at least 10 pairs of normal ears."

"Innumerable caricatures depicting Jerzy Tyran have circulated throughout the country. Rhymed and prose lampoons have continued to be written. Seeing him on television, people spat at him and threw at him the most hideous curses. Official acquaintances eagerly reported all this to the plenipotentiary, who responded with perverse joy, experiencing a mental orgasm closely approximating the most gratifying erotic experiences."

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

'ABUSE' OF EASTER RITES FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES CRITICIZED

AU072044 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-6 Apr 86 p 2

[Commentary signed "(ex)": "Jarring Sounds at Easter"]

[Text] Nothing is difficult for the willing, nothing is sacred for the purveyor of hatred, and no holy of holies is inaccessible for the fanatic who shuns no opportunity of using any tool to fight those who oppose his views. A week ago we were able once again to learn this truth when visiting Christ's Easter tombs in Warsaw churches.

Not so long ago it seemed that such symbolic tombs were supposed to remind one of one of the most important mysteries of the Christian religion--the death and resurrection of Christ. However, in some churches this mystery was transformed into political shows which in a primitive way recalled martial law, Father Popieluszko's death, or the prisoners charged with noncriminal offenses. There are certainly people who like such a mish-mash of various issues, but many Catholics were unpleasantly surprised last Holy Saturday when instead of the traditional Easter tombs they saw, for example, props representing a penitentiary cell, or--God knows why--a barricaded school, or locked doors of a factory bearing the inscription "no entry."

There are still many Catholics who associate the name of Golgotha with the drama of crucifixion, but in a church in Zoliborz, which is famous for its eccentric ideas, Golgotha was represented by a likeness of the dam near Wloclawek [allusion unknown]. The spear, the whip, the crown of thorns, and other accessories of the passion of Christ were replaced by stones, a cord, and a club. To boost the effect of the masquerade, the Roman soldiers were dressed in gray-blue uniforms [militia color]. Those responsible for this apparently forgot that at the same time the people in these uniforms continued to hunt night and day for the thieves who had pilfered the tomb of St. Adalbert [Wojciech] in the Gniezno cathedral.

You can still hear people sing in churches that "the cross is our lesson of love," but some clergymen would like to delete these words from this religious song and to forget that the crucified Christ was full of forgiveness, because these words and this forgiveness forbid hating those who hold different political views. It is simply difficult to believe that those who



are allegedly motivated by the command of all-embracing love, even for their enemies, have been able to gnash their teeth for so long and with such ferocity.

Is there any wonder that there are among us those who have no respect for our most precious national relics such as St. Adalbert's tomb when Christ's very servants abuse the tradition of Christ's tomb at Easter?

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT UNIVERSITY PZPR MEETING

AU181503 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Poland 5-6 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] PAP--Speaking at the end of a pre-PZPR congress conference of the Warsaw University PZPR Committee at Warsaw University on 4 April, the purpose of which was to examine aspects of the country's future presented in the draft PZPR program and the role meant to be played during the shaping of this future by education and the party, PZPR first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed satisfaction at having been able to hear the interesting ideas, opinions, and conclusions voiced during the conference. He referred to some of the most important topics of the discussion which, he stressed, had proceeded in an open manner and in accordance with the university's worthy tradition, and which had been rich in subject matter concerning both the entire party and the country, as well as internal university topics. He stressed that the conclusions stemming from this discussion will be used suitably during the work preceding the 10th PZPR Congress. He also acknowledged the correctness of having paid a lot of attention to the draft PZPR program during the conference. For the point is that this program should contain a rich load of subject matter geared toward the future, which at the same time would liberate maximum initiative and energy in its implementation.

Further parts of his speech dealt with topics which should be expressed in the PZPR program due to be presented at the congress, especially the place and role of education in the country's development and further socialist construction, and the changes that have occurred as a result of the implementation of the line of socialist renewal mapped out at the ninth congress, with emphasis on the chances for and dangers facing our development and on the need for it. Against this background, W. Jaruzelski highlighted the importance of an increased initiative by academic people, use of all available reserves in this sphere, and more effective teaching for the sake of Poland's successful development and to overcome the effects of the crisis. The academic community and Warsaw University, together with its potential, have an important role to play in these processes. W. Jaruzelski wished the Warsaw University party organization the honorable performance of the tasks facing it.

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## TU CONFEDERATION ON PRICE HIKE HARDSHIPS

AU191107 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] PAP--As announced by the 15 March communique on price hikes and greater social benefits, prices for coal, electric energy, and gas will be increased at the end of the present heating period, after the stocks of fuels have been reviewed. Charges for central heating and warm water will also be raised. The decision on this was made last year, but has been held in abeyance.

The general intention is to ensure that the average increases in the retail prices for coal, coke, electric energy, and gas be slightly lower than envisaged by this year's plan, but that the increases in individual prices be more differentiated. The 5 April session of the national trade union organizations and the voivodship trade union confederations discussed these issues under Alfred Miodowicz's chairmanship. Vice Premier Jozef Koziol and representatives of a number of ministries were present.

The session's main purpose was to clarify many doubts expressed by trade unionists as to the extent of the price hikes in question and as to their impact of the conditions of workers and veterans of labor. In general, trade unions did not question the economic arguments in favor of these hikes, but they were doubtful about their planned results, that is, about their ability to reduce the waste of energy, and they spoke with anxiety about this year's accumulation of price increases.

The session closely analyzed the measures to protect the poorest people against price hikes. A program for these measures, which also deals with price increases for fuels and energy, was published last March in connection with food price hikes. It has now been proposed that this program should provide for increased budget payments into the social assistance funds which are used to help people buy their fuel.

About 350,000 families have used this assistance, but additional funds would help increase this number and meet extra fuel costs borne by the poorest families. Trade unionists take the view that for reasons of personal pride the working people and pensioners would not accept such benefits, and that it was therefore necessary to suitably increase the social funds in plants; in addition, only families that have no assistance links with the plants should benefit from the social assistance funds.

Trade unionists also proposed that plants should not pay increased taxation due for increases in wages caused by the inclusion of fuel benefits in them.

The crucial issue is to set up a system with the help of which trade unions and the government can exchange information and views about the cost of living for individual communities and about price and income policy.

The conclusions of the session, which will be drawn up by the economic commission, will be submitted to the coming session of the National Trade Union Confederation Presidium, which will transmit trade unionists' views to the government.

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## DAILY REPORTS ON PROBLEMS AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY

AU181455 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Apr 86 p 3

[Alicja Matynia-Bonik article: "Party Conference at Warsaw University---To Train and Educate"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw University is the largest Polish university, and this means that its scientific workers have special tasks and duties to fulfill. The recent party conference held at the university to discuss the PZPR draft program devoted primary attention to the crucial question of how to train and educate students for the good of Poland.

The conference stressed that a university graduate should be not only a highly skilled expert who knows how to exploit the most recent scientific achievements, but also a politically mature and socially committed citizen.

This is determined by curricula and the individual training and educational work done by academic instructors. However, curricula should devote more attention to the needs of the economy in view of the fact that, except for universities and scientific institutes, university graduates are viewed with aversion when applying for various jobs. This aversion causes them to be disappointed and frustrated.

The discipline of studies at Warsaw University has deteriorated and the number of its students completing their courses on schedule is lower than the national average. More and more students interrupt their studies on the pretext that they must take up jobs, but this does not help to explain the disturbing feature of "eternal students." Academic instructors have also become less disciplined, are careless in their instructional work, and continue to show great tolerance toward students, something which cannot but affect the results of studies.

Both the report of the Executive Committee and the ensuing discussion agreed that persons who profess differing world outlooks and political convictions may perform the functions of academic instructors on the condition that their views and convictions do not become mainsprings of antistate, antiparty, antisocial, and amoral activities. Regardless of their personal views, academic instructors should be convinced that it is necessary to promote the civic upbringing of students, to foster their responsibility for

the country's fate, and to develop their understanding of the role they will play in society. The conference agreed that paying keener attention to the students' moral upbringing is very important.

Some participants in the conference, including Wanda Lukaszewicz, said that students continue to show an increasing readiness to address and discuss sociopolitical issues, which means that the time has arrived to break the silence and end the avoidance of difficult problems, because by being passive and defensive the party will never win over the young generations. The students' strained trust in academic instructors has not been fully repaired. This can be achieved only through direct talks between professors and students. However, as the conference critically noted, academic instructors are too busy with basic research which is mainly useful for their efforts to achieve scientific degrees and titles. Since "interviews with students are not paid for," some instructors neglect their educational work, as some participants in the conference stressed.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, who attended the conference, stressed the great significance of the increased militancy of scientists for Poland's favorable development and for overcoming the effects of the crisis, and appealed for efforts to exploit the unused areas of this militancy.

As the participants in the discussion and the report of the Executive Committee noted, the political atmosphere at Warsaw University continues to improve tangibly, although oppositional moods can still be detected here and there. The conference agreed that scientific policy, which has not always been implemented in line with the decisions of the ninth party congress, has also favored the moods of confrontation and opposition of sections of the university community against the activities of the university authorities. The present discussion of the PZPR draft program has helped to revitalize the university's party organization, which should be able to score successes in its activities and in its efforts to create an increasingly better atmosphere encouraging scientific and educational work at Warsaw University.

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CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

## JARUZELSKI, OTHERS ADDRESS 'MORAL HEALTH' MEETING

AU211851 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Report by Cezary Rudzinski and PAP: "Creating Good is the Best Strategy to Adopt in the Struggle Against What is Wrong--the all-Poland Meeting at Belvedere Palace With the Participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski"]

[Excerpts] On Monday 7 April an all-Poland meeting took place at Belvedere Palace and was attended by 66 representatives of social organizations, educational institutions, artists, scholars and pedagogues, research workers and practitioners, members of the government, workers, clergymen, and journalists. They came at the invitation of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, in order to exchange views on ways of improving and strengthening the moral health of society. Among those who took part in the meeting were Zbigniew Messner and Jan Dobraczynski.

Greeting the guests and thanking them for accepting the invitation to take part in the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the time was ripe to exchange views openly and honestly on matters that profoundly trouble and disturb society, and at the same time to consider further constructive actions that are indispensable for shaping and strengthening society's moral health and for combatting wrong-doing more effectively.

The moral state of society is determined by many subjective and objective factors, added the State Council chairman. Today, we want to put particular emphasis on matters of an ideological and educational character, matters that determine social attitudes and have particular importance for the younger generation. This also concerns the legal and organizational spheres, so that law does mean law, and law and order is observed.

W. Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that a body of people as representative as the present one, people who are united in pursuit of the supreme goal of the good of the state and nation, is certain to produce proposals that will serve these goals well.

An almost 8-hour long sincere exchange of views followed the first addresses to be delivered.

General Jozef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee secretary, began his address by explaining why the present time is particularly appropriate for raising the question of the nation's moral health in a comprehensive manner and the question of the struggle against all forms of social pathology. He said, among other things:

Our program of action will be enriched following today's meeting. A further integration of the legal and administrative front with the broad-based social movement and galvanized civic activity will take place. It emerges clearly from the assumptions of the meeting that the power of the law and the effectiveness of its preventative function are directly proportional to the level of public sensitivity and response to wrong-doing. These interdependencies are very apparent and they operate like communicating vessels: the recognized system of moral norms and values promotes social approval for the letter of the law, and this in turn aids the lasting systematization of legal principles which can enrich professional ethics and model forms of collective life.

Then the speaker indicated the most important issues to be dealt with.

The further concentration of forces and means in the struggle against pathology and irregularities in life: We intend to raise the effectiveness and efficiency of our activities to this end. This is to be done so that the results of such actions are felt more tangibly by working people, so that people can live and work more peacefully and securely, and in a better psychological atmosphere.

We will strive to ensure that society assimilates educational thought more fully and that that part of thought which concerns pathological inclinations provokes disquiet, so that conflict with the law does not pay and punishment--the inevitable consequence of crime--is particularly severe both morally and materially.

We will strike energetic blows against drunkenness (particularly in the workplace), drug abuse, speculation, theft, and against those who commit breaches of work discipline.

We want to improve knowledge of causes and not just of consequences. And we want to limit tangibly the effects of consequences. Numerous laws assist us greatly in this respect, although they are not always fully implemented. Some people attribute an all-powerful self-implementing quality to laws, whereas others do not appreciate their importance. Both extremes are erroneous and harmful.

Propaganda, especially television, radio, and television propaganda, constitutes a particularly important field for activity.

Their potency to expose wrong-doing must be intensified as well their role as disseminators of patterns of conduct and values worthy of emulation.



There is of course an entire panorama of traditional, national flaws. This is neither the time nor the place to list them all. Unkindness; deviations in interpersonal relations; the image of our compatriot abroad as someone engaged in speculation; the cult of money, money that is not always earned in an honest and legal way; quite widespread arrogance, and on the part of people exercising power--these things are irritating and are strikingly incompatible with national dignity.

Here and there the cult of the "Nanny" state has taken root, according to which the state is to assume the moral responsibility for looking after the poor parents of sometimes rich children. According to similar criteria it is made easier for a drunk injured in a street brawl to benefit from state sickness benefits. The responsibilities of people's power cannot be abused and remain unlimited in this field.

We intend to seek and demand fuller and more comprehensive support of a definite kind from science.

We are also counting on culture--and not only in the esthetic sense--but in the sense that it subordinates its educational function to answering the question: How do we teach people to live well? How should young people make use of their healthy ambitions and aspirations in the interests of society? There are also other questions and problems. Are we showing enough concern for the appropriate development and use of the cultural and educational infrastructure? Is, for example, the student dormitory or the worker hostel really a home, does it perform its educational functions?

It is primarily with youth in mind that we intend to realize this idea. Viewed from this standpoint the program extends into the future, into the 21st century.

General Kiszczak set out the position of the Council of Ministers Commission for Law Observance, Public Order, and Social Discipline, as well as that of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the subjects under discussion. He said that the sources of pathology ought to be sought in history and tradition, as well as in the consequences of the slackening of the mechanisms of public life at the beginning of the 1980's, the spread of anarchist attitudes, and certain circles raising a lack of respect for conscientiously performed work and for good practices to the status of a civic virtue.

The speaker stated that crime is pathology in its extreme form. Since 1981 the number of crimes committed each year has constantly been increasing and the manner in which crimes are committed has become more ostentatious and brutal.

The incidence of crime is still high but it does provoke fewer fears than a year ago. There has been an improvement in crime detection. The effectiveness of preliminary proceedings has been improved. The first months of 1986 indicate that positive trends in the sphere of crime are persisting. Unfortunately, these changes do not affect all types of crime.

Certain crimes are still on the increase. Crimes against the family; crimes involving physical injury; criminal mismanagement, the misappropriation of public property; and financial and tax offences are all on the increase.

The speaker noted that the private sector, including Polonian firms, accounts for barely 5 percent of national income and a little above 3 percent of total output, but accounts for 50 percent of the number of economic crimes committed. Cases that have come to light show that the Treasury would have suffered losses of the order of Z3 million: society recovered this amount after a check on 283,000 enterprises was conducted by the Council of Ministers' Committee.

The cult of money, continued the speaker, the mirage of illegally but easily earned money; corruption; persistence in the belief that every matter can be dealt with, even if it is illegally; and ostentatious disregard for people who live modestly but honestly are all examples of phenomena that are contagious and create an atmosphere in which the law and principles of social life are not respected. Indicating ways of improving the situation, General Kiszczak called for consideration to be given to the usefulness of amending the law on cooperatives, which in its present form severely limits the possibility of controls being conducted by state organs.

One of the worst pathological phenomena tormenting our society is drunkenness and alcoholism. They pose a real threat to the biological development of society. It is estimated that in Poland there are about 5 million people who regularly abuse alcohol and almost 1 million who are suffering from alcoholism.

Almost 90 percent of those who start brawls, and commit assaults, and robberies are intoxicated at the time of committing the offence. More than 70 percent of those who committed criminal and economic crimes were under the influence of alcohol. About 10,000 people who cause or are the victims of road accidents are drunk at the time. Almost 160,000 drunk drivers are on public roads, and that is only the number of those who were found to be in such a condition when stopped by the militia.

In the opinion of the minister there is a strong possibility of limiting the scale of alcoholism if all available means are concentrated on ensuring that the duty of being sober at work is observed at every level, and on intensifying action against persons who are drunk in public places.

Drug abuse is a particularly severe form of pathology. It is estimated that there are about 200,000 persons in the country who come into contact with intoxicating substances, of whom 30,000 suffer from dependency, and more than 16,000 come into conflict with the law. The moral depravation of minors also has serious consequences. It is estimated that there are about 900,000 socially maladjusted young people and children.

Ending his speech, the speaker said that negative phenomena in the sphere of awareness exercise a significant influence on the moral character of society, phenomena such as a lack of a sense of the unity of laws and responsibilities; the conviction that it is permissible to circumvent the law if one stands to gain something by doing so; tolerance of various forms of scheming and cliques. Violations of laws and moral norms are facilitated by too little activity against the wrong that is committed in one's own milieu. The habit of waiting for something to be done from outside rather than take any risks oneself is quite widespread.

The minister stressed that law enforcement organs are guided by the inviolable principle that repression is an extreme measure to be employed when a clear breach of the law has occurred. The department of internal affairs is directing the main thrust of its efforts toward prevention, toward removing the causes of wrongdoing and the conditions which encourage it. The department regards its activities as a public service. Only public support can multiply the results produced by these activities. People who are honest and sensitive to wrongdoing are potential allies in the work of cleansing life and bringing about the moral rebirth of the nation. The speaker ended by saying that they should become actively involved in the struggle that is being waged.

Speaking at the close of the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the exchange of views in such a representative and at the same time varied circle was very useful and wide-ranging, and was enriching for the participants in the meeting in terms of the valuable thoughts expressed and, in particular, in terms of the practical proposals made. The openness and sincerity with which issues of an intrinsically complex nature were raised deserves to be underscored.

He stressed that socialism by its very nature objectively creates conditions for improving social life and its moral values. However, this does not occur automatically. Conscious and energetic activity directed against pathological phenomena and perversions in interpersonal relations are needed. This need becomes even greater at times when social development is disrupted by crises and conflicts. It is also one of the essential elements of socialist renewal and a forum for national understanding.

Referring to the points made during the discussion, the chairman of the State Council drew attention to the need to expand preventive and educational activities, to the need to educate at work, and in particular to the need to observe broadly understood socialist social justice. This is of socioeconomic, educational, ideological and moral significance. He drew particular attention to the need to cultivate appropriate attitudes among young people.

Next, the chairman of the State Council spoke about the role of science and culture in cultivating appropriate attitudes in individuals and in society as a whole. Wojciech Jaruzelski also referred to those assessments

made during the discussion which drew attention to the need to combat criminal pathology and, above all, negative phenomena in collective life and customs, and he stressed the particular danger created by alcoholism, drug abuse, and a lack of respect for work and property.

All activities in this field call for the cultivation of a sense of universal social energy, a feeling of being the manager or co-manager of one's workplace, institution, and neighbourhood. This requires the development of a widely understood program of economic, legal, and historical education--education that is imbued with a spirit of concern for a strong and socialist state as the supreme good for the nation. Finally, the State Council chairman thanked all those who attended the meeting for their active participation, and assured them that appropriate use would be made of the proposals made during the discussion by the party and state authorities, especially during preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. He also announced that similar meetings would take place in the future to provide a system for social assessment and inspiration in this exceptionally important field.

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

AKTIVS CRITICIZE PZPR PROGRAM--PAP--During the 22 March meeting between Krakow party aktivs and Marian Orzechowski, it was stated that the PZPR program contains many goals but too few indications how these goals should be achieved. Those participating in the discussion at the meeting stressed that if, in view of the sad experience of the past, our present programs are cautious, we must not limit ourselves to "small steps" alone. Responding to these observations, M. Orzechowski recalled that although--following 13 December 1981--there were proposals within the party itself that the ninth party resolutions should abandon, these proposals were rejected. Today, he said, we approach the 10th party congress, searching for answers to the questions of how we have implemented the ninth congress resolutions and how to draw up a long-term program for the country's development up to the year 2000 on the basis of the spirit of these resolutions and of the experience of the past 40 years. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /12858

FOREIGN MINISTRY CONSULTATIONS---PAP--Consultations have taken place between the deputy foreign ministers of the PPR and GDR, devoted to the developing countries. Taking part in the consultations on the GDR side was Deputy Minister G. Koenig, and on the Polish side Deputy Minister J. Majewski. G. Koenig was received by Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski and E. Kucza, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department. GDR Ambassador M. Neubauer was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /12858

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION INCREASES--According to preliminary estimates of the Central Statistical Office, the 1985 per capita consumption of pure alcohol in Poland amounted to 6.7 liters. Unfortunately, alcohol consumption continues to increase because in 1984 it amounted to 6.3 liter. The breakdown of the 1985 per capita alcohol consumption shows that 11.3 liters of vodka, 7.9 liters of wine, and 29.6 liters of beer were consumed compared with 10.6, 8.3, and 26.6 liters in 1984, respectively. The Central Statistical Office has not analyzed any other features of alcohol consumption, but the "Polmos" data show that, ignoring the peak in December and the low in January, there are no crucial differences in alcohol sales in other months. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Apr 86 p 2 AU] /12858

CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

ROMANIA

# REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY LEBANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

## Ceausescu Receives Delegation

AU251840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES--On April 25, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received a parliamentary delegation of the Republic of the Lebanon, led by Hussayn al-Hussayni, president of the National Assembly, now on a visit to Romania.

The delegation includes deputies Zaki Mazbuti and Farid Jubran.

The head of the delegation thanks for the opportunity to visit Romania, to get acquainted with achievements scored by the Romanian people in his homeland's manysided development. Likewise, the guest was highly appreciative of Romania's foreign policy, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's international activity, of his peace initiatives and demarches for the settlement of the complex problems facing mankind. In that context, the president of the Lebanese Parliament praised Romania's constructive stand on the political resolution of the Middle East situation, the re-establishment of peace and quiet and the normalization of the economic and social life in Lebanon.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the appreciations and feelings expressed and addressed wishes of peace and prosperity to the friendly Lebanese people.

During the interview which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship stress was laid on the fine Romanian-Lebanese relations as well as on the significance of top-level meetings which laid the foundations of the lasting links between the two countries. The wish was also expressed to diversify collaboration on various planes, to intensify cooperation on an international plane for the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, detente and international cooperation.

During the talks on current international issues, President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that all states should rally their efforts to halt the arms race, to achieve a complex programme of general disarmament, nuclear in the first place, to ensure people's, nations' right to life and peace. The need was emphasized to intensify actions for a political, negotiated settlement of all litigious issues in various zones of the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu set forth Romania's stance on a just and durable settlement of the Mideast situation. Stress was laid on the significance of calling an international conference with the participation of all concerned countries, including the PLO, other states which can contribute to a global, lasting resolution of the conflict in that region.

Referring to developments in Lebanon, it was stressed that everything possible should be done for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all over the Lebanese territory, for the achievement of a large reconciliation and collaboration of all Lebanese political and social forces by means of negotiations, to ensure the unity, national independence and sovereignty, the territorial integrity, the homeland's reconstruction, peace and quiet in that country.

Emphasis was placed on the important role of parliamentarians throughout the world in making their countries' governments adopt realistic solutions for the settlement of the major issues facing the contemporary world.

Nicolae Gisan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania attended the interview.

#### Parliamentarians Meet Press, Radio

AU261908 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 26 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/4/1986--The members of the Lebanese parliamentary delegation, headed by Husayn al-Husayni, president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Lebanon, met on April 26, with representatives of the Romanian press, radio and television.

The president of the Lebanese parliament expressed full satisfaction at the visit paid to Romania, at the opportunity to meet with President Nicolae Ceausescu, the guest expressed gratitude for the support Romania granted to his country in the settlement of the problems confronting the Lebanese people. Calling forth President Nicolae Ceausescu's numerous initiatives and démarches for the settlement of the issues in the Middle East in general, and of Lebanese crisis in particular, he also expressed admiration for the policies pursued by the Romanian head of state, policies characterized by firmness and commitment to the cause of peace, achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost. The guest was highly appreciative of the summit dialogue in the promotion of the relations between the two countries on various planes. The head of the Lebanese delegation showed, inter alia, that new domains for the expansion and diversification of the relations between the two countries were singled out in Bucharest.

#### Group Concludes Visit

AU291242 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1218 GMT 29 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/4/1986--A parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Lebanon, headed by Hussayn al-Hussaini, president of the National Assembly that visited Romania invited by the Grand National Assembly, left Bucharest

on Tuesday. On leaving the guests were saluted by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by deputies.

During their three-day Romanian visit, the Lebanese parliamentarians called on Romanian head of state Nicolae Ceausescu. On the occasions the sides expressed the joint wish to diversify the collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries and to intensify their collaboration in the international arena.

The guests also had interviews with Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Ilie Vaduva, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ioan Avram, Minister of Electric Energy, looking into possibilities to further expand the Romanian-Lebanese economic cooperation and trade exchanges.

During a press conference the President of the Lebanese Parliament expressed satisfaction at President Nicolae Ceausescu's receiving the delegation and at the results of the interviews they had with Romanian officials, considering them to be of a nature to give an impetus to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

#### Message to Israel Labor Party Congress

AU091819 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1633 GMT 9 Apr 86

[Text] Tel Avia AGERPRES 9/4/1986--During the proceedings of the Israel Labour Party congress, an address of salute from the Romanian Communist Party was ready by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of RCP delegation to the congress.

In behalf of the CC of the RCP, of its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, a friendly salute was conveyed to the delegates to the Israel Labour Party congress, to all the members of the party and sincere wishes of peace and prosperity to the Israeli people.

The RCP--the address of salute shows [as received]--follows with keen interest the activity of the Israel Labour Party.

Stress is laid on the positive evolution of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and the belief is expressed that these links, based on the principles of mutual esteem and respect, will continue to develop, in the future too, in the interests of strengthening the friendship between the two peoples, of the expansion of manysided cooperation between Romania and Israel, of the cause of peace, security and international collaboration.

The RCP and Romania, deeply concerned over the situation in the Middle East, which can at any time spell danger at [as received] peace--the address of salute reads--actively and steadily work for a political, global solution to the situation in the region, conducive to the achievement of a just and durable peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, on the recognition of the Palestinian people's



legitimate rights, and its right to self-determination and the independent statehood included, on the guaranteeing of the security and territorial integrity of all states in the area. In this respect, it was stressed in conclusion, we are for the cessation of military actions, for the beginning and unfolding of talks to find acceptable solutions for all the sides in conflict. Romania is for the calling of an international conference under the UN aegis, with the participation of all concerned countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Soviet Union and the United States, other members in the Security Council and other states which can make a positive contribution to the settlement of the Mideast situation.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

USSR ENVOY MARKS CULTURAL TIES WITH ROMANIA

AU071807 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 7 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/4/1986--On the 30th anniversary of the signing of the cultural cooperation agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, E.M. Tyazhelnikov, organized a friendly meeting on Monday, April 7.

Executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, representatives of central institutions, artists and men of letters were in the attendance.

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CSO: 2020/127

2 June 1986

POLITICS

ROMANIA

## IVASCU ADDRESSES IPU ON DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES

AU091540 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1437 GMT 9 Apr 86

[Text] Mexico City AGERPRES 9/4/1986--In his address to the 75th conference of the Interparliamentary Union [IPU] that holds proceedings in Mexico City, Romanian Chief Delegate Marin Ivascu, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, chairman of the Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, highlighted the topical character and importance of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives meant to lead to the achievement of disarmament, nuclear above all, to a lasting peace in Europe and the world over. He also pointed to the need for all states' active participation in the efforts toward the achievement this year--the International Year of Peace--of a switch on the line of establishing a climate of peace, collaboration and understanding. He presented Romania's proposals regarding the implementation of a complex programme of nuclear and conventional disarmament, stressing the urgent need for stepping up the works in the relevant negotiation fora.

Reiterating Romania's firm position on the need for force and threat of force to be definitely given up in international relations, the Romanian representative advocated intensified efforts toward solving all states of conflict by peaceful, negotiated means exclusively.

In this context, emphasis was placed on the significance of the declaration of the Grand National Assembly on the International Year of Peace--circulated as a document of the conference--that illustrates pregnantly the Romanian people's firm will to closely collaborate with all peoples in view of accomplishing mankind's great ideals of living in a world of peace and collaboration. The Romanian representative highlighted the lofty responsibilities incumbent today upon parliaments in the resumption of the policy of detente, understanding and collaboration, the need for the Interparliamentary Union's more active involvement in the just and durable settlement of contemporary world's issues in the interests and with the participation of all states.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

RCP'S STOIAN MEETS ISRAEL'S HERZOG, SHAMIR

AU101255 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1222 GMT 10 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/4/1986--A message of salute as well as the best wishes of good health and happiness, of peace and welfare for the Israeli people were conveyed to Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel, on behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking for the wishes expressed, Hayim Herzog asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute, wishes of good health and personal happiness, of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on the president of the State of Israel by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation attending the Israel Labour Party Congress.

During the interview questions were approached relating to the growth of Romanian-Israeli ties, as well as aspects of the international life.

Ion Stoian also met Yitzhaq Shamir, deputy premier and foreign minister of the State of Israel.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

AGRICULTURE MINISTER DAVID MEETS WITH USSR'S KUZNETZOV

AU191354 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1045 GMT 19 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/4/1986--A Soviet delegation headed by L.N. Kuznetzov, deputy-chairman of the State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex of the USSR, paid a visit to Romania.

The guests conducted talks with Gheorghe David, Romanian minister of agriculture and met with executives of the Ministry of Food Industry and Purchase of Farm Product. Possibilities of developing and diversifying the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in agriculture and food industry were analyzed.

A protocol on technico-scientific collaboration in 1986 between the relevant ministries and organs in the two countries was signed.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

AGERPRES REVIEWS COOPERATION WITH SRI LANKA

AU251758 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/4/1986--The Prime Minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, will arrive in Bucharest on Friday afternoon for an official visit to Romania, where he is to talk with Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu on the current stage and prospects of bilateral relations in various domains.

In the spirit of its policy of solidarity with the peoples that embarked on the road of free existence, Romania has relations of friendship and collaboration with Sri Lanka which see an ascending course and steady improvement. Diplomatic relations were established between the two countries 29 years ago.

In the favourable atmosphere created by the positive course of political ties commercial exchanges and economic cooperation diversified according to the payment and trade agreement and to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation, Romania assisted Sri Lanka to building important economic units like the woodworking complex in Arissauela and a tractor assembly line, the first in that country. As for goods exchanges, Romania delivers railway cars, trucks, four-wheel drive cars, compressors to Sri Lanka, and receives from it products specific to its export.

During mutual visits concrete measures and actions were set apt to help the expansion of bilateral commercial exchanges, the further development of collaboration and cooperation between the two countries in machine building, chemistry, the power industry, agriculture, and other sectors of mutual interest.

The governmental agreement on cooperation in science and culture, and other bilateral understandings contribute to expanding exchanges of spiritual values, and intensifying friendly ties. Beside young people of other developing countries, youths from Sri Lanka also study in various higher learning units in Romania.

The two countries also cooperate productively on an international plane, within the group of 77 and at the UN just as in other international bodies for world detente, peace, independence and collaboration.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA MARKS AFGHANISTAN NATIONAL DAY

AU071321 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Apr 86 p 6

[Editorial article on the eighth anniversary of the April Revolution, the National Day of Afghanistan, celebrated on 27 April]

[Text] On 27 April the Afghan people celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Democratic People's Revolution of Spring 1978, which put an end to the domination of feudal circles and opened the path to some socioeconomic changes of a progressive character. These changes are all the more significant since, as is well known, Afghanistan (area: 655,000 square kilometers; population: 18 million) is a country that inherited a very difficult economic situation. At the same time when the revolution broke out, the overwhelming majority of the peasants (85 percent of the population) lacked land and led a life of extreme poverty. Therefore, one of the first measures to be adopted after the installation of the new power was the accomplishment of the agrarian reform, which provides distribution of land to peasants without land and the setting up of agricultural production cooperatives. At the same time, the Kabul authorities took action to develop industry by building new productive capacities, schools, hospitals, cultural institutions, and others. During the recent meeting of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it was reiterated that last year the volume of gross national product exceeded the 1979 indicator by 6.2 percent and the national income by 5.5 percent; thousands of peasant families received land and 425 new agricultural cooperatives were set up; in various parts of the country 60 important economic objectives have been built.

The Romanian people followed and are following with sympathy the efforts of the Afghan people to build a new life, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Relations of friendship and cooperation, based on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage are developing between the SR of Romania and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In keeping with its principled position, our country spoke out and is speaking out for a political settlement, through negotiations, of the problems concerning Afghanistan, and for solutions which can ensure the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan, put an end to any outside interference, and create the possibility for the Afghan people independently to solve problems of their socioeconomic development on the road of progress, according to their own wishes.

Our country believes that deepening the Romanian-Afghan relations is in accordance with the interests of the two countries and peoples, and the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUSESCU ATTENDS YOUTH MEETING IN MOSCOW

AU281953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 28 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES 28/4/1986--A delegation of the Union of Communist Youth of Romania led by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, participated in Moscow in a consultative meeting with leaders of youth organizations in socialist countries.

During the meeting, opinions, information and experience were exchanged with regard to the current preoccupations of the young generation and its contribution, along with the peoples, under the leadership of communist and workers' parties, to the socioeconomic development of the respective countries.

A number of specific modalities and actions were highlighted whereby the youth can contribute to the implementation of the provisions set under bi- and multi-lateral economic agreements reached at summit level, under the long-term programmes for economic and technical-scientific collaboration concluded within the CMEA included.

The UCY chief delegate outlined the active participation of the young generation in Romania in the whole people's efforts, in the attainment of the targets set by the thirteenth congress of the RCP.

It was stressed that these days, when the whole nation makes preparations for the 65th foundation anniversary of the RCP, the homeland's young generation proved its attachment to the homeland and the party.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the active stance of the Romanian youth who, in the spirit of the principles of the foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives on an international plane, militates consistently for the strengthening of the generation's unity of action in the fight for peace, disarmament, for a better and more just world.

The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

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CSO: 2020/127



POLITICS

ROMANIA

## ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONING OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

AU011447 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0958 GMT 1 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/5/1986--Enjoying the same constitutional rights and freedoms as all the country's citizen, the Romanian young people also have specific rights and are provided congenial conditions for the development of their physical and intellectual aptitudes. The Romanian laws provide for a series of specific aspects related to how the young people exert their social rights. The constitution, the labor code, the education law stipulate that state organs have special obligations to ensure, through the public education system and other specialized organisms, the schooling and employment of the young people, in keeping with their professional skills, personal abilities and aptitudes.

As for the young people's right to work, education and learning, Romania is one of the few countries of the world where there is no unemployment and illiteracy. The state provides the necessary facilities for the schooling and professional training of the youth and jobs for the graduates.

The Romanian society protects minors and provides general protection for the youth who work or are engaged in other social activities. According to the labor code, youngsters under 18 may not take jobs where conditions can seriously damage their health, and are not allowed to work extra hours. Youngsters in the 14-16 age bracket work six hours per day without cuts in their pay for this. Holidays granted to youngsters who work observe law provisions so that the younger they are the longer the holidays.

For the Romanian youth, the participation, the exercise of political rights--a major desideratum of the contemporary youth--are facts. They are granted the right to vote at 18, and the right to be elected deputies in the CNA [Grand National Assembly] and People's Councils at 23. The first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] is a member de jure of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, is minister for Youth Affairs and is a member of the country's government. The secretaries of youth organizations at a ministry level are members de jure of their managerial councils and the secretaries in departments, enterprises and institutes are members de jure in the working people councils, as deputy chairmen of these organisms of collective management.

By virtue of the constitution the young people in Romania have the right to association and organization. Over 793,000 young people aged up to 30 are RCP members, accounting for some 23 percent of the party's total strength; young people working in enterprises and institutions are TU members and young women are members of the Women's Movement. In turn, the young writers and artists are members of Creative Artists' Unions and are represented in their leading bodies.

According to their own rules of organization and functioning the youth organizations ensure the debate by the young generation of their specific life, work and learning questions.

A complex material base at the Romanian youth's disposal allows for the organization of cultural-artistic and sporting events: town and village houses of Culture, clubs, libraries, sports grounds, tourist and entertainment places. Carrying on activity in economic units, schools and faculties are literary and fine arts circles, cinceclubs, scientific research and invention groups, as well as the most diverse artistic groups in which the young people assert themselves as producers of spiritual assets and beneficiary of the cultural act. As for the young people's participation in the sports movement we should mention that there are 14,377 sports associations and clubs with a membership of almost four million availing of 12,000 sports developments for all sports, 500 stadia and gymnastics and athletics halls, swimming pools.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

VISITING IOC CHAIRMAN MEETS JOURNALISTS

AU021343 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1229 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/5/1986--During a May 2 interview with Romanian journalists, International Olympic Committee Chairman Juan Antonio Samaranch expressed the International Olympic forum's special appreciation of Romania's contribution to the assertion of the Olympic ideals of unity and understanding. He welcomed the development witnessed by the physical education and sports activities in Romania, this explaining the great successes achieved by the Romanian athletes in the international arena, as well as the important share held by the physical exercises in the everyday life of the youth, of Romania's inhabitants.

Answering questions asked by the journalists, the IOC chairman referred to problems covering the present and the future of the Olympic movement.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUSESCU MEETS SPANISH CP YOUTH LEADER

AU041857 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 4 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/4/1986--Nicu Ceaulescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], met on Friday, April 4, with a delegation of the Union of Communist Youth of Spain led by Jesus Maria Montero, secretary-general of the organization, that paid a visit to Romania upon the invitation of the UCY.

During the interview experience and opinions were exchanged regarding the current preoccupations of the two youth organizations as well as aspects of the international youth movement.

Stress was laid on the joint willingness to further develop bilateral ties of friendship and collaboration between the Union of Communist Youth of Romania and the Union of Communist Youth of Spain as a specific contribution to amplifying the traditional relations between the two countries and peoples, for the benefit of the cause of peace, security, democracy and progress, and the building of a better and more just world on this planet.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES SPANISH COMMUNIST OFFICIAL

AU052040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0750 GMT 5 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/5/1986--On Monday, May 5, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Santiago Carrillo, chairman of the Commission on the Spanish Communists' Unity, now on a visit to Romania.

The guest expressed keen thanks for the interview he was granted and for the opportunity to meet again with the RCP and Romanian state leader.

During the interview--the atmosphere of which was friendly, comradely--questions were approached of the international communist and working class movement, of the struggle for democracy and peace. In context, Nicolae Ceausescu laid stress on the significance of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the communist and worker parties in each country, on their role in building up the unity of action of the democratic forces in the struggle to defend the working people's rights and liberties, for democracy and progress. Emphasis was placed on the importance of strengthening collaboration and solidarity between communist and worker parties, based on equality, on each party's right to independently work out its political line, of cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the fight to solve the major problems that confront mankind, for disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, for peace, for all people's economic and social progress, for a better and more just world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

After the interview Nicolae Ceausescu invited Santiago Carrillo to dinner.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

WAN LI, DINCA AT ROMANIAN INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION IN BEIJING

AU062053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Beijing AGERPRES 6/5/1986--On May 6 a Romanian industrial exhibition opened at the International Exhibition Centre in the capital of the People's China.

On more than 7,000 sq. m. exhibits of the electronic, electrotechnological, machine-building, chemical, building materials, consumer and food industries are on display, mirroring the high standard of development of the Romanian economy.

Present at the festivity occasioned by the opening of the exhibition were Wan Li, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-premier; Qian Gichen, deputy foreign minister; Li Shuzheng, deputy head of section for foreign relations of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, heads of foreign trade enterprises, representatives of central economic institutions, journalist and a large public.

Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, participated.

In the addresses made on the occasion the participants pointed out the joint wish to find new ways and possibilities to further develop and diversify the bilateral economic cooperation and the trade exchanges.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

SCIENTIFIC SESSION MARKS 65TH RCP ANNIVERSARY

AU062118 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/5/1986--Tuesday, May 6, Bucharest hosted a national scientific session devoted to the celebration of 65 years since the setting up of the RCP, on the theme: "The Romanian Communist Party--a party of the Great Revolutionary Changes, Leader of the Work of Building the Multilaterally Developed Society and of Romania's Progress Towards Communism. The Revolutionary Thinking and Action of Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu--a Contribution of Unfathomable Value to Improving the Theory and Practice of the Socialist Construction."

Organized by the National Council of Science and Education and the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the proceedings were attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, members of the Party Central Committee, heads of mass and public organizations, people working in enterprises and institutions of Bucharest, personalities of the scientific and cultural life, party and state activists.

The opening speech was made by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The following read papers: Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP; Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP; Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium; Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology; Lina Ciobanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania; and Ilie Vaduva, member of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs.

The participants in the national scientific session sent a telegram to RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

# IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE IN COMBATING RELIGION

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Gh. Bratescu: "The Scientific-Materialistic Outlook, a Defining Dimension of the New, Socialist Consciousness"]

[Text] The formation of the new, socialist consciousness, of the spiritual makeup of the new man, with a multilateral personality, a conscious builder of socialism and communism, mastering fully the unitary theoretical and ideological outlook on the world and life, constitutes the essential objective of the vast activity of scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education performed in our country.

Naturally, however, the affirmation of a unitary outlook does not occur smoothly or in the narrow sense of uniformization, of docile acceptance, without opinions, of one thesis or another, but presupposes categorically a continual struggle between the old and the new, between different views concerning the better organization of the production forces, of social relations, of the life of the whole society. Precisely this struggle, based on unitary production relations, on the strong development of science and culture, of human knowledge, opens up new, noble and glorious ways of improvement in life and social relations. Only through thought and work has man known himself, formed and improved himself as an element of nature, transforming nature and society at the same time. Understanding this objective process, the revolutionary view that leads to this understanding, the thought that there are no phenomena that cannot be known, but only some that are not yet known, seems logical. Hence the requirement of continually unraveling the new puzzles of nature and life in order to be able to profitably put them in the service of mankind's civilization, well-being, and happiness.

One trait of the new man is the capacity to understand the laws of nature, life, the universe as a whole, the relationships existing between man and nature. This is why, by its very essence, the socialist, communist society is opposed to the forms of religious alienation, with scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education having the mission of showing with crystal clearness that the truly human experience, man's fulfillment as man, cannot be provided by beliefs in illusions, but in one's own power of thought and work. Obviously, solid arguments and reasons, which cannot be constructed except by strongly and continually combining scientific knowledge with life experiences, are necessary in order to reach such a result of persuasion.



This vast set of problems is presented in detail in a recent volume, "Indreptar pentru educatia materialist-stiintifica, umanist-revolutionara a tineretului" [A Handbook for the Scientific-Materialistic, Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People] (Politica Publishing House), under the coordination of researchers Gh. Crasnea and Ion Strugariu. The book, on which a large staff of university teaching personnel, scientific researchers, and journalists collaborated, tackles topics of major importance like "The Attitude of the Romanian Communist Party and of Our Socialist State Toward Religion, the Church, and Believers Under the Conditions of the Strengthening of the Social and Political Unity of the Whole Populace in the Struggle To Construct Socialism and Communism" (Octavian Nistor), "Humanism and Religion, the New Man, Endowed With an Advanced, Scientific-Materialistic Outlook on the World and Life--the Creator of the Material and Spiritual Values of Society. The Anachronism of Mystical, Reactionary Mentalities and Preconceptions" (Dumitru Ghise), "The Outlook on the World and Life--a Condition for Conscious Existence. The Human Condition's Ascension and the Confrontations of Values Concerning the World and Life" (Paul Popescu-Neveanu), "Religion and Social Life" (Gheorghe Vladutescu), "The Social and Political Changes Appearing in the Principal Religions of the Contemporary World--Their Contradictory Implications for the Progress of Humanity" (Georgeta Florea), "The Sectarian Religious Phenomenon in the Contemporary World" (Ana Balasa), "Religious Sects--an Inhuman Assault on the Dignity and Freedom of the Younger Generation, a Factor of Moral and Intellectual Pollution of Its Personality" (Serban Cionoff), "Mental Life and Mystical, Religious Speculations" (Adina Chelcea, Septimiu Chelcea), "The Incompatibility Between the Norms and Principles of Socialist and Communist Ethics and the Precepts of Religious Morals" (Florin Georgescu), "The Laical Essence and Humanistic Substance of Romanian Folklore" (Alexandru Dobre), "The Role of the Education of Thinking in Rejecting the Irrationalism Characteristic of Religious Beliefs" (Petre Bieltz), "The System of Methodical Action in the Scientific-Materialistic and Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People" (Aculin Cazacu), and "Scientific Research on the Sociology and Psychology of Religion in Support of the Atheistic, Scientific-Materialistic Education of Young People" (Petre Datculescu). A recent "Mic dictionar pentru educatia materialist-stiintifica, umanist-revolutionara a tineretului" [Small Dictionary for the Scientific-Materialistic, Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People] (Paul Popescu-Neveanu), put out by the CC al UTC [Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth] for the information of young people and edited by Dr Octavian Chetan and sociologist Gh. Crasnea, also enters into the same spirit.

Continuing an older collection, the Politica Publishing House also achieved a new volume of "Intrebari si raspunsuri la probleme de educatie ateista a tineretului" [Questions and Answers on Matters of Atheistic Education of Young People]; the volume, on which well-known researchers in this field collaborated, includes topics of great interest grouped into three categories. The first part is devoted to matters connected with religiosity, the history of religions, and sectology. The second part groups articles on new gains of knowledge in fields like astronomy, philosophy, ethics, scientology, mysticism and its harmful effects, etc. Finally, the last part is devoted to various aspects of scientific-materialistic education.

The volume "Omul, stiinta si religia" [Man, Science, and Religion] (Simion Asandei), achieved under the editorship of the Militara Publishing House, is a remarkable publishing appearance also of recent date. The work proposes to discuss the vast problems of man in the view of science, of dialectical and historical materialism, in opposition to religious outlooks. Some aspects regarding the position of science and religion in explaining the appearance of man, of society, are pointed out; the confrontations of ideas in the field of the interpretation of life and of the world, going from the earliest times to our times; the contemporary religious phenomenon and the changes that have occurred in its evolution. The author, analyzing aspects connected with the appearance and development of atheistic thought, with the origin, place, and role of religions, their current status, and the triumphant ascension of science, of human knowledge, has proposed to point out man's place in the world, the splendor of human thought and creation in all fields of economic, social, and spiritual life.

The final objective--the transformation of the people, the arming of them with the advanced outlooks on life and society that dialectical and historical materialism confers and with the most complex problems, knowledge, and conclusions of science--represents a work of great scope. Seen from this viewpoint, the educational-ideological work of continually developing the socialist consciousness requires perseverance, patience, and work filled with responsibility, it being viewed as a continual task of all people who perform their activity in the ideological field.

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CSO: 2700/141

2 June 1986

## POLITICS

## ROMANIA

## BRIEFS

GADEA ADDRESSES OPENING--Bucharest AGERPRES 30/4/1986--Starting April 30 Bucharest is the venue of the exhibition "65 years since the foundation of the Romanian Communist Party" and of a homage-paying plastic art exhibition. Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, addressed the public at the opening festivities. [Text][Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 30 Apr 86 AU] /7051

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ALFARO--Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/4/1986--On Tuesday, April 29, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Luis Wybo Alfaro, ambassador of the United Mexican States in Bucharest, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Romania. The talk conducted on the occasion passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1448 GMT 29 Apr 86 AU] /7051

TREATY WITH ZAMBIA RATIFIED--Bucharest AGERPRES 11/3/1986--The instruments of ratification of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zambia, signed by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenneth David Kaunda in Lusaka, were exchanged in Bucharest, on March 11. The exchange was made by Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister, and Gibson R. Zimba, ambassador of the Republic of Zambia in Bucharest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1647 GMT 11 Mar 86 AU] /7051

CHINESE ART EXHIBITION--On March 27 a Chinese art exhibition opened at the Palace of Culture in Iasi. Ivory sculptures, china, pictures, and other works of Chinese craftsmanship are exhibited there. The opening was attended by representatives of the local party and state bodies, the Romanian Institute for Foreign Relations, and the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association and by men of arts and culture and a great number of visitors. Also in attendance were members of the PRC Embassy in Bucharest. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Mar 86 p 5 AU] /7051

SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION--A delegation of the South African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC], a regional organization including Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Lesotho, paid a visit to our country. The delegation was led by Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves, deputy chairman of the SADCC Ministerial Council and finance minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The guests held meetings at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade

and International Economic Cooperation, and other economic ministries. On this occasion, the possibilities of developing economic cooperation and collaboration between Romania and the SADCC member countries in various areas and ways and means for expanding and diversifying bilateral commercial relations were examined. An exchange of views regarding some international problems of joint interest also took place. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Mar 86 p 5 AU] /7051

CSO: 2020/127

SOCIOLOGY

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

DRINKING LAW URGED--There are an estimated 500,000 'heavy drinkers' in Hungary and more of them are becoming alcoholics every year. Five years ago there were 200,000 registered alcoholics, today the figure stands at 422,000. Only 54,000 are being treated presently but since treatment does not last long enough and does not begin in good time only 20 percent of those treated are cured. The reasons are that hospital beds are few, there is no room in sanatoriums and necessary equipment and doctors and nurses are in short supply. On the basis of this information, the deputies of the Social Affairs and Health Committee, at their meeting on 11 April have adopted a resolution which calls for a new law or legal decree which will place significantly stiffer obstructions in the way of spreading alcohol consumption and more money to be allocated for treatment and prevention of alcoholism than has been up to now. [Text]  
[Budapest Home Service 1000 GMT 11 Apr 86] /12232

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